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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2223



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28 October 1983

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN QUESTION POSES 'HOT AUTUMN' POLITICAL DILEMMA

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 7 Oct 83 p 11

[Article by Hans Peter Riese: "A Hot Autumn in Hungary." For translation of the two ELET ES IRODALOM articles referred to in the text concerning the poet Sando Csoori see JPRS 84552, 17 Oct 83 No. 2216 and removal of Ferenc Kulin of MOZGO VILAG see subsequent issues of this series]

[Text] "In the FRG the political season starts after vacation in September, with us in Hungary a month later, but we are going to experience a hot autumn." The editor of the respected Hungarian cultural periodical, ELET ES IRODALOM, who made this statement, by no means has counterarming on his mind but he speaks of an event that could soon move the Hungarian public just as much as the counterarming debate moves the German public. Storm clouds of a serious political dispute could already be seen over Budapest. Following a decision by the party leadership, the chief editor of another cultural periodical, Ferenc Kulin, was removed from his position. In his publication MOZGO VILAG he is said to have permitted the spreading of a "pessimistic and distorting trend" in conjunction with "disregard of the class concept" and with a justification of "nationalist ideas." This is the explanation given by Deszo Toth, deputy minister for culture and education, in the latest issue of ELET ES IRODALOM and thus he mentioned the "hot" topics that the party leadership no longer is able or wants to evade.

The entire debate, which has much more than merely a cultural policy character in Hungary, was triggered by a book that is not even permitted to be read in Hungary. It was written by a Hungarian living in Czechoslovakia and deals with the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring socialist states. The Budapest party leadership presumably would have never deigned to react to the author, Miklos Duray, were it not for the unfortunate

combination of various political factors. First of all, the respected Budapest writer Sandor Csoori, for a long time on a collision course with the state cultural policy, wrote a foreword to this book that was published in the United States this spring. In his highly political text he takes issue in detail with the author's thesis that the socialist postwar development in the Balkans did not ease the minorities and nationalities question but, on the contrary, had conjured up, above all for the Hungarian minorities, a desperate situation in which the question must be asked when these minorities will take up arms and follow the example of the Basques in Spain or that of the IRA in Ulster. Csoori considers this as an "electrifying idea" and thus has clearly crossed the limit of tolerance of the Hungarian party.

The book touches on such a highly explosive issue that the Politburo of the "Socialist Workers Party" has already dealt with it in a special session: Primarily the situation of the 2 million Hungarians in Transylvania whose cultural rights are being more and more drastically restricted by the Romanian government. As if this ticklish dispute with the allied Romania was not already explosive enough, in Hungary it is being heightened for years by a discussion which is almost typical of the Hungarian national character: by the discussion on the declining birth rate, the traditionally high suicide rates, and the rampant alcoholism. The recently deceased poet Gyula Ilyes had proclaimed these problems as "fateful questions," that in the history of a people are "not automatically" solved even by changed social conditions. In plain language this meant: Socialism in Hungary has been unable to change anything in that tragic development that through the combination of these three factors in final analysis would have to lead to the extinction of the Hungarian nation.

The party leadership has recognized that this is a challenge that cannot be met simply with the pragmatic behavior acquired and repeatedly tested in the economic reform. Andras Knopp, the deputy departmental director for ideological questions in the "White House," as the Central Committee building in Budapest is called, does not wait until he is asked about this challenge. He repeats almost verbatim what the Hungarian ideological and cultural authority, Politburo member Gyorgy Aczel, had said in January at a two-day closed conference on questions of agitation, propaganda and educational policy: "We favor scientific discussions on these questions. However, we do not agree that history--regardless of by whom and where--is being utilized to bolster current political theses."

Aczel and Knop point out a political peculiarity of the Hungarian conditions. In this country, in which there is no censorship, in which the opposition itself admits that it does not have a mass basis and was able to disseminate its Samisdat publications openly, the party leadership has achieved that scientists and intellectuals in state facilities were able to deal scientifically with nearly all questions that had not been solved or had been incompletely tackled. Andras Knopp reduces this to the short formula: "To deal with critical and controversial questions in Hungary, one does not have to be in opposition." At the same time, the state, as the sole owner of the publication monopoly always retains control over which of these critical works gets to the public. From the point of view of the highest ideological guardian's office, Gyorgy Aczel summarizes this in the form of a political guideline when he says: "Any question can be dealt with scientifically, whereby there are neither forbidden topics nor prescribed conclusions for the research. However, we insist on the responsibility that the research be continued until a balanced and thought-out concept has been developed. In publishing the research results, people should be aware that the publication is not purely a scientific matter, but also a public one."

Privately it has been admitted in the meantime that the party has made considerable mistakes in its fixation on economic reforms in Hungary. Actually the technical intelligentsia has been tied into this policy through the incentive of participating in research and formulation of the reform policy. On the other hand, the so called "humanistic intelligentsia" in Hungary has turned away from politics, as has been admitted by the writer Gyorgy Konrad who is now living in the West.

This can be historically documented in the editorial board of ELET ES IRODALOM. Writers of the older generation such as Tibor Dery who had been imprisoned for years never permitted the dialogue with politics to break off. The younger generation that had profited from the new path of the Hungarian party after 1956 had always been skeptical toward politics and was more concerned about itself. What is correct in this analysis is the fact that the relatively liberal cultural climate in Hungary has only rarely driven writers, movie producers, and philosophers toward confrontation with the state and the party. But there was no direct use for these intellectuals in the development of a Hungarian economic model.

The need to catch up occurred in stages, the most important of which was the reappraisal of Hungary's role and primarily that of the Hungarian army during World War II. This was followed by intensive preoccupation with the fifties sponsored by the party

and with the causes of the 1956 "national catastrophe" so referred to by all. Meanwhile Politburo member Aczel complained that "the critical attitude, the socially critical vigor had changed into negativism." Not only the fifties, but also the consolidation after 1956, the revival of the alliance policy, fell victim to this negativism."

This is more than merely an alarm signal for the party. This discussion threatens the results of the 15-year reform policy and thus Hungary's internal consensus.

The 10.7 million Hungarians need not first be reminded that roughly 5 million of them are living abroad. Nearly every family has family relationships to Hungarians in exile. Roughly half of them live in the adjoining socialist countries, the largest ethnic group in Romania. Its situation has been desparate for years. As all minorities in Romania, they are hampered in their cultural rights, economically they are even worse off than the Romanians themselves, they are restricted in their freedom to travel to visit their relatives in Hungary, and finally their right to emigrate has been largely curtailed also by head taxes and they are demanding measures from Budapest to improve their lot.

Of course, Janos Kadar cannot get involved in controversy with Bucharest not only in the interest of relative freedom with the Warsaw Pact but also because of general foreign policy considerations. Anyhow the Romanian press has been provoking the neighboring country for a long time by taunts and misrepresentations of the Hungarian reform policy. Recently this explosive situation has been additionally aggravated by the activities of some exile circles in the West.

Since this summer, the Munich Radio Free Europe has started to broadcast excerpts from the Duray book and thus has forced the party leadership to react openly. It was regarded as particularly embarrassing that U.S. Vice President George Bush, after he had been received by Janos Kadar in Budapest, in a speech delivered in Vienna divided the socialist states into two categories: those that are nothing but blind followers of Moscow, above all the GDR and the CSSR, and those that have maintained some leeway for national independence, Romania and Hungary. Any comparison of Hungary with the autocratic Ceausescu regime in Bucharest by Western politicians and media must be especially disagreeable to the Hungarian party leadership on account of the heightening conflict on the minorities question. Internally the language against Romania, of course without ever mentioning the name, is becoming more blunt all the time--thus when Gyorgy Aczel makes a general

statement and in doing so undoubtedly has Romania in mind: "It has turned out that the various socialist states are not solving the nationality question in the same manner, that the principles of the Leninist nationality policy do not automatically prevail and above that: By reviving outdated nationalist views attempts occur to infringe upon the rights of the national minorities and also to assimilate them by force."

Despite this realization, nobody knows better than Janos Kadar that with all the pressure his hands are tied. In the official party position, Kadar's speech in Helsinki on the occasion of the signing of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) Final Act is being increasingly pointed out in which he specifically expressed his support of the status quo in Europe. Nevertheless in the increasingly heated discussions, similarities to the revisionist policy of the fascist Horthy regime arise and the party considers itself forced to point out that the Trianon treaties, even though they were branded as imperialist by Lenin himself, today constitute historical facts that Hungary will not change under any circumstance.

The discussion on national minorities in the socialist states and on a reawakening nationalism, primarily in the Balkans, could develop into an explosive political situation in which more is at stake than the Hungarian reform model. The classical historical Balkans problem could regain the explosive force that Lenin considered as overcome by socialism and that Rosa Luxemburg in her polemic with him viewed as continuing.

12356

CSO: 2300/26

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NEW ENVOY TO HUNGARY--CSSR President Gustav Husak has appointed Ondrej Durej as CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Hungarian People's Republic. At the same time he decided to recall Andrej Barcak from that post. [Text] [AU181550 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 83 p 1 AU]

CERLE BACK FROM DPRK--A CSSR party and government delegation led by Ladislav Cerle, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR deputy premier, returned on Saturday from the celebrations of the 35th anniversary of the DPRK's founding. At the Ruzyně Airport in Prague, it was welcomed by representatives of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Chi Chae-yong, DPRK ambassador to the CSSR, was also present. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 83 p 1 AU]

POLISH EMBASSY RECEPTION--The air and military attache at the Polish Embassy in Czechoslovakia gave a reception on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish People's Army in Prague today. Among the guests were: Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council; Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy federal premier; and other representatives. [Text] [LD131207 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 12 Oct 83]

CSO: 2400/44

STRUGGLE AGAINST RELIGIOUS VESTIGES CONTINUES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by Muharrem Xhafa: "An Offensive Against Religious Vestiges and Backward Customs"]

[Text] The struggle against religious vestiges and backward customs has constituted and constitutes an important direction of the ideological work of the party and its levers. There is a rich experience in this field; it is reflected in every corner of our socialist homeland by the great achievements made in the overthrowing of the remnants of the old world and in the consolidation of the new.

Nevertheless, we continue to encounter in life mistaken ideas and values in the struggle against religion and backward customs and with regard to the successes achieved. Therefore those people or social workers, communists or cadres, who think that such manifestations have been overcome and that their vestiges will disappear by themselves with the passing of time are making a mistake. A few days ago, at a meeting with the youths of the city of Lezhe, there were those who claimed: "no one is interested in religion any longer," and "we do not have to worry about backward customs." We must admit that with the elimination of religious institutions, of buying and selling girls, of having women carry heavy loads and so forth, a kind of self-satisfaction, a kind of underestimation of the danger of religious vestiges and backward customs is created and consequently in some cases the struggle against them is carried out in the form of campaigns.

In order to improve the educational work of the party organizations and to increase their effectiveness in uprooting the religious vestiges and backward customs, it is of great importance to thoroughly understand the situation, because by knowing the condition of their characteristics and manifestations, their carriers and the shortcomings which became evident during the ideological, educational and cultural processes, the work is properly organized and hits the target as it should.

The analyses and the examinations which have been carried out show that, on the whole, the situation is understood, in fact with all its characteristics. Yet, it becomes again necessary to know it in a more detailed manner. This is one side of the coin. The other side, and the main one, the way in which and how much the party and mass organizations work with the people, what

effective measures are taken and are being carried out. In this respect there is more room for thinking and working better.

The social problems are in fact viewed and treated always as a concrete aspect of the class struggle and one talks about them continually. This however, alone, does not solve the problem, because even when one talks about them, some manifestations take on a new life and are manifested if a thorough work and an offensive against them are not carried. In some places like Diber, Durres, Kruje and so forth, there is fasting during Ramadan, elsewhere great expenses are incurred during happy or sad occasions, in Librazhd and Mirdite one still encounters cases of old customs of having women carry loads on their backs, in Shkoder and Lezhe people pilgrimage to former "holy" places for "cures," religious holidays are celebrated and so forth. Where such manifestations occur it is clear that neither the communists nor the basic party organizations or the mass organizations are taking the offensives as required by the party. Therefore, of importance here is the strengthening of the struggle of the party organizations and not treating them as issues belonging only to the social organizations. In this struggle, above all, it must be the masses of the people themselves, the working class, the agricultural cooperative members, all the cadres, the communists and the intelligentsia who must arise and be on the offensive. Vigilance and resoluteness, forming public opinion through concrete activities blocks religious vestiges and backward customs, limits them and helps eliminate these manifestations.

The experience gained is quite rich, but it is necessary to use it properly to fight the negative manifestations which are observed today, because there is spontaneity and lack of imagination in this field. The studies and discussions with the people constitute a valuable experience. Nevertheless, there is a need to avoid the global character and put the stress on the analysis of actual manifestations, since in some cases there is a tendency to emphasize excessively the history of the issues.

To uproot the religious vestiges and backward customs, it is especially important to use the rich variety of the forms of educational work with the people such as: talks, lectures, seminars, analyses, graphic propaganda and so forth. Their absence weakens the ideological and propagandistic work. It was rightly stressed during a meeting in the agricultural cooperative of Bajza in Shkoder District, in a discussion of the issues, it happens that sometimes poor work is carried out precisely with those who are affected the most by religious vestiges and backward customs, namely the elderly, especially the women, since the educational work with the people has been lacking somewhat in the borough and the village. This category of people seldom participates in the educational activity carried out by the mass organizations, although their great impact is felt by the family members, in particular by the brides and the girls. In the analyses which have been carried out in some villages of the Lezhe District from where some brides have gone to "former holy places," they have declared that they have gone "so as to keep the promise given to a mother-in-law."

Generally the authorities have reacted to religious vestiges and backward customs when some unpleasant event has taken place. Some cadres, communists

and social activists often list the achievements and adjust to the situation by taking their tasks lightly to prevent and fight negative manifestations. During happy or sad events occurring even in some communist or cadre families, it happens that backward customs or religious practices take place and no attempts are made to prevent them on the mistaken grounds that they are "simply personal, delicate and family issues." Moreover, it is rare when some communist or cadre is addressed or censored for lack of a healthy ideological development or for violating the communist character in regard to such matters. And the cooperation between mass organizations must be expressed in order to solve the jointly established tasks and not only through some joint aktiv as happens often in practice. Debates, action and criticism must take place between them in order to fulfill the tasks, along with reciprocal evaluation and competition as to who accomplishes the tasks best.

5112

CSO: 2100/76

**HEALTH CARE PROBLEMS REVIEWED**

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Sep 83 p 1

[Article: "Let Us Make the Health Protection of the Masses the Problem of All Society"]

[Text] In every forward step it takes, our socialist system brings increasingly greater new victories and always creates better conditions both for the improvement of the life of the people and for the invigoration of their health. The expansion of the network of various health institutions, the continuing improvement of the health service and all the measures of a prophylactic nature are also serving this purpose. However, everyday activity has brought into the open the fact that, no matter how much it might be improved, the health service cannot be fruitful if it is not strongly based on the direct participation of the masses in the protection of the people's health.

"Every person in our country," Comrade Enver teaches us, "has a duty to look after his own health every day, so that, if it is possible, he will go to visit the doctor as seldom as possible." Therefore, the purpose is that every person must be educated in a conscientious manner in order to execute and respect with strictness all prophylactic measures and hygienic regulations in the milieu where he lives and works. In this regard, an important role is played by the expansion and intensification of the health propaganda, which aims at drawing attention of the people to and enlightening them about everything that may endanger their health, and at combatting, in time, any negligence in the observance of the necessary norms dealing with health protection.

The results achieved every year and, even more, those achieved in the struggle against prejudices in regard to the proper rearing of children, in the prevention of children's diseases and in the setting up of new norms which insure a hygienic and healthy life, and in the field of the assimilation, by workers and cooperative members, of the necessary knowledge for the protection of health from harmful factors, all tell of the fruitfulness of the health propaganda which serves our people everywhere.

Despite our progress, experience shows that, in special cases, the methods used for the health education of the people have not been fruitful. Thus,

the quality of the health culture of women, based mainly on the functioning of the "schools for mothers," has not always been at the required level. The participation in these schools has been unsatisfactory, because, nor unfrequently, lessons have been given in a schematic manner, without arousing any interest. The specialist doctors, assigned to manage these schools, have left them in the hands of midwives and nurses. Sometimes, even courses, set up in the various branches of industry and agriculture for the differentiated education of workers and cooperative members, have been developed in a formal manner although for these schools, special textbooks have been published by the Directorate of Health Education for the hygiene of miners and textile workers, for the hygiene in the chemical, metallurgical and food industries, and for the protection from chemical poisonous substances, results have not been as expected, especially, in some districts such as Kukes, Mirdite and Tropoje. This has happened because the doctors in the work centers, responsible, first of all, for these schools, do not consider their welfare as one of the key links of the prophylactic work in the enterprises.

The weaknesses of the health propaganda are revealed by some other phenomena. For example, in some village families in Elbasan and Librazhd districts, pregnant women are not treated as stipulated in our legislation; in Kukes, Shkoder and Gramsh districts, infantile mortality is still not in low percentages; and in the production centers for food products in Tropoje, Vlore and in other places, the hygienic and health norms are violated. Some health workers are trying to impute these characteristics to the influence which customs, habits and prejudices still have in our people. Of course, such remnants still exist, but they are not insurmountable. Today, we have a notable qualitative and quantitative development of education and culture of the people everywhere in our country. In these cases, in addition to other organizational reasons, a role is also played by the indifferent attitude of the health personnel that does not execute their work properly in order to give the people the necessary scientific knowledge so as to protect their own health as well as the health of their children, wives and entire society.

It is obvious that a special role in the health education of the masses is played by the centers for health education in the districts. In order to respond properly to the requirements which the times set forth today for improving the level of health culture of the masses, it is necessary that cadres, capable of developing a propaganda work with responsibility and imagination, strongly relying on medical science, be assigned to these educational centers. However, in practice, there are cases of depreciation of these centers. Thus, for example, some time ago, in Kruje and Skrapar districts, the doctors of these institutions were removed, because, "as they had terminated their studies with very good marks, they had to work in other more important institutions." While, in Lezhe and Librazhd, the centers for health education are closed because "doctors do not agree to work there."

It is the duty of the health workers to stand at the forefront of the struggle for the improvement of the health education and culture of the masses; however, one should never forget that to implement the task assigned

by the Eighth Party Congress, it is necessary for the party organizations, the mass organizations and the state and economic organs and, especially, those of education and culture, to deal, better than until now, with these problems.

The many initiatives, taken recently for setting up cultural milieus and for improving hygiene in work and production, for example, at the Misto Mame wood processing combine, the Enver Moxha auto-tractor combine, the shoe factory in Tirana, the Gogo Nushi nitrogen fertilizer plant in Fier and in many villages in Korce, Gjirkaster and Sarande districts, have given the desired results. This was achieved because the health education of the people was correctly evaluated, first of all, by the party and mass organizations, the enterprise managements and the village people's councils which, in close cooperation with the health workers, have found the suitable forms for work with the people who have insured the involvement of all the masses of the people in the protection of health.

9150

CSO: 2100/ 75

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

VISITING CUBAN OFFICIAL--On Tuesday, Jindrich Rehorek, CSSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Jorge Bolanos Suarez, vice minister of foreign relations of the Republic of Cuba, on the occasion of the latter's stay in Prague. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

AID SHIPMENT TO AFGHANISTAN--A shipment of material aid that was sent to Afghanistan by Czechoslovak social organizations has been taken over in Kabul by representatives of the Central Committee of the Afghan National Patriotic Front. The shipment includes Kcs200,000 worth of, primarily, childwear and medication. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 83 p 7 AU]

PEACE DELEGATION TO FRG--A delegation of the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, led by its deputy chairman, Colonel General Frantisek Sadek, departed on Monday for the FRG. With the Presidium of the Association of the Victims of Nazism--Union of Anti-Fascists, it will discuss a further joint course of action in the struggle against fascism and for preserving peace, following up on the conclusions of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

VISITING FINNISH PARLIAMENTARIANS--A delegation of the parliamentary group of the Finnish People's Democratic League led by its chairman, Veikko Olavi Saarto, arrived in the CSSR on Monday. In Prague, it will hold talks with representatives of the Club of Communist Deputies to the CSSR Federal Assembly. [Excerpt] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

INTERIOR MINISTER ELECTED DEPUTY--In a by-election to the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly for the constituency No 66, held in Teplice District on 2 September, the National Front candidate Cratislav Vajnar was elected deputy to the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly. He received 44,955 votes, 99.96 percent of all valid votes. [Summary] [AU111513 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

ANGOLAN OFFICIAL--In Prague, Milan Klusak, Czech minister of culture, received Boaventura Cardoso, state secretary for culture of the Angolan People's Republic, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official visit. They discussed the possibilities for development of cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and Angola. [Text] [LD061805 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 6 Oct 83]

PROPAGANDA WORK MEETING--More than 250 participants in the regional ideological conference on economic propaganda, held on 14 September 1983 in Kosice, Slovakia, in the presence of Ludovit Pezlar, Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, urged increased efficiency of ideological work in economic propaganda in industry and agriculture.

L. Pezlar stressed the need to contribute to propagating the peace policy of the USSR and other socialist states, and dealt with the further activities of party organizations in pushing through scientific-technical progress in practice and in implementing the principles of the party's economic policy in production. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

CUBAN DELEGATION VISITS--Milan Vondruska, Czech minister for education, received in Prague today a Cuban education delegation led by Fernando Alegret Vecino, Cuban Republic minister of higher education. He informed the guests about the implementation of changes at individual schools and about topical questions of higher education with the emphasis on speeding up scientific-technological development and the implementation of its results in practice. [Text] [LD051416 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 5 Oct 83]

FOJTIK BRIEFS PARTY AKTIV--Prague, 11 Oct--An all-state aktiv meeting of party regional committee secretaries and of the leading workers of social organizations, mass communications media, and other sectors of the ideological front was held this Tuesday [11 October] at the CPCZ Central Committee. Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium alternate member and secretary, briefed the aktiv on the course and results of the conference of Central Committee secretaries for international and ideological issues from the communist and workers parties of socialist countries, which was held on 20 September 1983 in Moscow. [Text] [AU131408 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 83 p 1]

CSO: 2400/42

DISAFFECTED REFUGEE YOUTHS CRITICIZE DAILY LIFE, PROSPECTS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 37, 12 Sep 83 pp 92, 94, 96, 97

[Interview with Rene Klein and Ronald Klotzer by Joerg R. Mettke, SPIEGEL editor, in Berlin on 3 September 1983: "Either Champagne or Soda Water"]

[Text] In the middle of the night, on the first Friday of September, Ronald Klotzer and Rene Klein, both 19 years old--one of them a commercial cleaner, the other a road construction worker--went to where "everything" is "better": they jumped over the Berlin Wall into the West. Trouble at work, boredom, discipline problems, "eagerness" for Bonn's money and looks--all these things, mixed with a generous amount of beer, made them No 31 and 32 in this year's West Berlin statistic of persons "breaking through the barricades." From now on, a cleaning brigade in East Berlin's Police Hospital and a construction crew of the "Road Maintenance System" will each be short one worker.

When they told their escape story to SPIEGEL, it was only 8 hours old, it had not yet come to the attention of the Allied Forces. It was without any Western polish, as was the mental attitude--vacillating between hatred and hope--which makes young proletarians run away from the lower-middle-class atmosphere of the worker state.

In the emergency refugee camp in Marienfelds both refugees were given DM325 for clothing, as well as useful items such as undershorts, a toothbrush and a free pass for using the subway and buses, because "you can't take a lot of baggage on this kind of a move" (Klein). Both of them already had their first experiences with the Western economy: "Yesterday, in a pub," Klotzer groans, "we had to pay 5 marks for a little mug of beer--back home you could buy it for 51 pennies.

SPIEGEL: Ronald and Rene, 24 hours ago you were still in East Berlin?

Klein: Yes, that's right. Yesterday afternoon we were still over there, in Prenzlauer Berg.

SPIEGEL: And why are you now in West Berlin?

Klein: O.K., my friend Ronald and I were in a restaurant nearby. Well, we drank maybe three or four beers, and then the idea popped into our minds that we didn't want to stay in the East any longer. We were so sick of everything, thinking about it all day yesterday, and then we said to ourselves: Let's go over there, to the West.

SPIEGEL: What happened on this day that was so bad?

Klein: It was more or less the same with both of us. My boss yelled at me. One hour was deducted from my time because I was late coming back from lunch. I was really fed up...

Klotzer? ...exactly, the same thing happened to me. Where I am working, the pusher--that is the section leader--came over to where I was. He is a real sadist, and he told me that this month I would again get only 80 percent. That is 200 marks less. I talked to Rene, in the pub, and I told him that everything here makes me sick and, well, first I was just joking, but the best thing to do would be to skip to the West.

SPIEGEL: Was the trouble worse than it was on other working days?

Klein: No, but everything came together all of a sudden. The same thing happened to Ronald. We just got so sick of it. So much happened all at once: the hatred for the pusher who always has the last word, there is nothing one can do about it, and one can't get anywhere.

SPIEGEL: Were these after-work reviews something that came up regularly?

Klein: Well, it wasn't only that. Actually, we meet regularly in our courtyard, on the corner of Schoenhauser and Bornholmer, with our buddies. It's a huge courtyard, and there were always 15 or 20 of us. Well, yesterday I said to Ronald: Let's go and have a beer. In the "Bornholmer Klause" we talked about the whole day, all the stuff that happened and then we just felt that we had had it.

Klotzer: We were fed up with the work and all the trouble. Anyway, I didn't care about anything anymore. We go to jail or we'll be over there, and then we'll start all over again. It doesn't matter whether we'll make it, but...

SPIEGEL: ...just getting away?

Klein: Exactly. We both agreed that we simply had to do it. O.K., first I went with Ronald to his place. He changed his clothes. His mother made supper for us. She thought we were going out or something like that. And then we went to my place. I have my own apartment on Saarbruecker Strasse. I changed clothes, then we had another beer downstairs in the "Alt-Berliner Bierstuben." And then we took off.

SPIEGEL: Did you tell anybody about your plan?

Klotzer: In the courtyard where we met all the time we told the others: Man, we're taking off for the West. And then we bragged and made up stories: We'll send you a pair of gym shoes, and bunk like that. The guys said: Oh, well, they must have been in the pub again, drinking too much beer. Anyway, nobody believed us. And we thought: O.K., let them yak, we'll do it today.

SPIEGEL: It was that spontaneous? You thought about it and then did it?

Klein: That's it. The same evening we went straight downtown to the "Stadium of the World Youth," we crossed the square, went over the fence and then on to the grounds of the Police Hospital.

SPIEGEL: What made you choose the hospital of the People's Police, of all places, as an escape route?

Klotzer: First of all, it is right on the border. Second, I have an identification card for the hospital. I am a glass cleaner and janitor and that's where my brigade is doing the cleaning. And then we thought, well, all these sick policemen, comrades who could be trusted, well, probably it was not guarded that much.

SPIEGEL: Then you were familiar with the area? Also with the border patrols?

Klotzer: Sure, When we cleaned the windows on the second floor, we could see everything. We could also see the ice stadium in the West. And in the winter we could hear the music from over there and watch the girls skating. And we all groaned all the time: so close and we can't get there.

SPIEGEL: But because Rene did not have an employee's identification card....

Klotzer: ...naturally, we couldn't stroll through the gate, which means it was the first wall we had to climb. So we stood on the hospital grounds for a while and surveyed the situation. We rested for a while and thought about about...

Klein: ...and smoked another one.

Klotzer: Right. And then there is a little park on the grounds. We passed through it, and then I showed Rene the spot where I thought we would be able to make it across.

Klein: I hid myself and Ronald went into the house where he kept his work clothes and got his cleaning ladder. Then we returned to the first of four obstacles that we had to get over.

Klotzer: It was some kind of corrugated-iron wall, opaque; it went all right. Then, approximately 6 meters from there, there was the first real wall. It was at least 4 and 1/2 meters high and on top of it there were glass fiber bars and then wires, 5 or 6 of them, which added another meter. Electricity went through the wires, maybe 110 volts or so....

SPIEGEL: ....and you could feel the full effect of it?

Klein: Yes, our clothes were wet from perspiration. But if I may say so, they only did it to scare people and to make them fall down. I can't imagine that the current is strong enough to hurt a person or do anything.

SPIEGEL: Were you prepared for it?

Klein: We touched it right away to make sure. And everything went well. The next thing was a barbed-wire fence, almost 2 meters high. It was built so that it would lean toward the East and one cannot get over it without a ladder. Ronald was holding the ladder and I went up and jumped over it. Ronald followed. Then we pulled the ladder through the fence....

Klotzer: ...and at the very moment after we had pulled it through, there was suddenly an awful noise. A strange and funny shrill sound, piercing and loud, and then I noticed a green light somewhere in the air and then we started to run with the ladder toward the last wall.

SPIEGEL: Was there any shooting by then?

Klein: As far as I can remember, the shooting started when I was on the ladder, or maybe I was already on top of the wall...

Klotzer: ...and in the meantime somebody yelled real loud: Stop, stop. But who would do something like that when he has already come so far?

SPIEGEL: Do you think you could tell whether the shots were aimed at you?

Klein: No, they were not aimed at us. If they wanted to, they could have hit us. I could see where the shots hit the wall, it was always the same spot. Because I was trying to pull Ronald over the wall. I couldn't leave my buddy standing on the ladder. I had to help him up. If he had been lying there, I would have climbed back down. It would have been o.k. We agreed beforehand: either both of us or neither of us.

SPIEGEL: Did you expect shots to be fired?

Klein: Yes, into the air...

Klotzer: ...because we couldn't imagine that they would shoot at people...

Klein: ...and as I see it, it turned out to be true. I am firmly convinced that they missed us intentionally.

SPIEGEL: But you couldn't be sure. Were you concerned about the risk beforehand?

Klotzer: No, we didn't even think about it. We didn't see any great danger. We told ourselves: Well, nothing can happen. One of two things will work: either we get caught and go to jail....

Klein: ...anyway, we still had to face a hitch in the army. So, it doesn't really make any difference whether we spend 1 and 1/2 years in the service or in jail....

Klotzer: ...exactly, or we make it. Champagne or soda water. And we made it and it's champagne.

SPIEGEL: But you left your girlfriend behind and you had been together for more than 2 years.

Kotzer: That's true. But it couldn't be helped. Now something has to be done here, I have to make some money. And later, who knows, maybe I can buy her freedom.

SPIEGEL: It sounds as if it was very easy for you to make the decision--from one day to the next--and go. Or is that misleading?

Kotzer: Everything was building up inside of us. And we were getting so frustrated and only waiting for the day when something like that would happen. It just couldn't go on like that.

SPIEGEL: What was building up?

Klotzer: Well, for instance, I couldn't stand my work any longer. In my collective--I just couldn't get along with my colleagues. As it happens, when you clean glass and buildings, sometimes you get your work done a little early. And, naturally, there is no reason why you shouldn't leave early. But the colleagues go immediately to the pusher and tell him: a certain colleague left early again.

Klein: It was the same with me. You always had to play up to the boss.

Klotzer: Sure, if you flatter the group leader, you can sit all day long out in front in his room; nobody says anything. But if you sit in the lounge room and you don't go to work, somebody will say immediately: Get up, go to work.

SPIEGEL: But even in the GDR life is not only work.

Klein: But we were also dissatisfied with all the other things. One has money and wants to buy something decent, but when you want something that's good from the "Ex" or from the "Shop,"\* you have to exchange your earnings at a very unfavorable rate--1 to 5 or 1 to 5 and 1/2--in order to buy a decent pair of trousers or something, so you don't have to run around in pants like these that aren't any good...

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\* He was referring to Intershop and Ezquisite stores. In Intershop stores quality products from Western countries can be bought with Western currencies. In Ezquisite stores top quality products from the West and also from the GDR can be bought with East German marks, but at highly inflated prices.

SPIEGEL: ...because they aren't from the West. Was that the only thing you were interested in?

Klein: No, things from the West really are better. Once I had a pair of pants; I bought them in the "Shop." At the same time one of my fellow workers bought pants that came from over there, from the East. He had to buy three more pairs and mine were still in good shape. Of course, they had faded because they had been washed so many times, but the seams were still holding. I am giving you only very basic examples.

SPIEGEL: Are there better examples?

Klotzer: Here, I mean over there, you can't buy anything. You have to hunt for the cheapest and simplest things. For shoelaces, paint, wallpaper. You can't get any gym shoes. There are only two kinds. They are all little things and you overlook them again and again.

Klein: There comes a time, at least that's the way I see it--I know, I'm not a psychologist--when the pressure builds and boils over. Yesterday must have been the day, I don't know. It's also possible that we are both a little crazy, but I don't think so. Actually, we are very normal people.

SPIEGEL: The normal people split and the abnormal people stay.

Klein: That's not quite true either. Actually, every young person in the East has dreams of having some freedom some time or other....

Klotzer: ...being able to travel everywhere....

Klein: ...well, it's not only traveling.

Klotzer: Of course, it's only part of it. Everything is so forced, nothing seems as it should be.

SPIEGEL: What were some of the things that were forced on you?

Klein: When I started my apprenticeship, for instance. Nobody asked me whether I wanted to join the FDJ or the GST.\* Well, I could have refused, but without GST no apprenticeship.

Klotzer: It is a prerequisite. Solidarity, it all sounds so beautiful and pleasant, but you have to pay dues. Labor union, for instance, something else I had to join, and maybe every 5th year you get a trip at a reduced price, and every month you pay 30 marks or 40 marks or 50 marks--I don't even know how much it was. And what good is the German-Soviet Friendship if we have to pay dues. Does it really benefit us? I don't think so.

SPIEGEL: Could you benefit from it if you wanted to?

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\*FDJ: Free German Youth; GST: Society for Sport and Technology.

Klotzer: No, it was nothing but garbage. One week in the GST camp, preparation for military service. And we had to run around like blockheads. Nothing else, no FDJ activities, nothing was going on.

Klein: When we had a meeting, the entire collective acted as if it didn't belong here, because nobody was interested in any of it. The instructor was happy if we didn't all sleep through it.

Kotzer: Everything was forced. Demonstration on 1 May, you had to be there. On Sunday morning you have to be there at 8:30, otherwise there is a big to-do; you have to face the music. Why weren't you there, it is our holiday and stupid talk like that.

SPIEGEL: And you didn't want to discuss it?

Klein: Nobody wants to do that, one has to be crazy to do that. If I may say so, every young person in the GDR dreams about the West. They all want to see just once all the things that one can buy in the West. They listen to their parents and grandmothers--at one time there was only one Germany. Why can't we go over there? I don't understand it. Nobody understands us.

Klotzer: Just look at the motorcycles in the West, for example. They are altogether different. A young person can really feel enthusiastic when he sees something like that. It's all very exciting.

SPIEGEL: There are also motorcycles in the GDR.

Kotzer: Yes, 250 cubic centimeters--and that's it.

SPIEGEL: And that's not enough?

Klein: It doesn't have to be more, but everything looks so much better over here. Over there they don't have any idea of what looks stylish. Everything looks like trash, silly, primitive. I'm sure they can't be stupid. I know they aren't. They ship motorcycles with disk brakes to the West. Why can't young people in the GDR get something like that?

Klotzer: You know why. They don't deserve something like that.

SPIEGEL: And your friends, do they think the same way you do?

Klotzer: Of course. We all grew up at the Wall. And that's the reason. The Wall is the attraction, and it is like a magnet.

SPIEGEL: What do you expect from this magnetic West?

Klein: First we have to find work, as soon as possible, and then we have to earn money. If we make it, we'll be able to accomplish more than a young person in the GDR can.

SPIEGEL: What do you want to accomplish?

Klein: Our own apartment--oh, well, I had my own place over there too. But we want money that buys something.

Klotzer: ...something decent.

SPIEGEL: How did you spend your money in East Berlin?

Klotzer: Well, I had 1,000 marks per month. I paid 150 marks for board at home. The rest I spent on duds. A good pair of pants cost at least 270 marks, from the "Exquisit." You can't wear the other pants. They make you look like a monkey. Well, and then there are cigarettes, and occasionally you go to the pub and maybe to the movies, some ice cream here and a soft drink there, and before you know it, it's gone.

SPIEGEL: It sounds like an ordinary day and probably it is not very different from the way young people in West Berlin spend their days.

Klein: O.K., I'm not saying that you can't live over there. You have some kind of work and earn some money. Nobody goes hungry, that's true. But we just don't like it. You hear others say: Oh, my grandmother just arrived, she brought all kinds of things. And then you get really envious and you feel so much hatred.

SPIEGEL: Do you know anybody who crossed from East to West before you did and do you know how a person like that is getting along?

Klein: No, I don't know anybody. All I know is hearsay, but I'm sure that you can get somewhere here. Otherwise I would not have come over here. The first thing is a job, earning money and perhaps later I can do some traveling.

SPIEGEL: Couldn't you travel in the GDR?

Klein: Where? To the Baltic Sea? I went there on vacation when I was 14. Now I want to get to know the cities--Branuschweig or something like that. Just to look at everything.

SPIEGEL: You are not frightened by the high unemployment rate among young people?

Klein: As I see it, there is only one reason for it: They don't want to work. If I want to work, I'll find something.

Klotzer: ...and unemployment benefits are so high. Nobody wants to work any longer. They would rather accept unemployment checks and live as they please.

SPIEGEL: How do you know that?

Klein: From your television programs. We always watched them. There is not a single young person over there who voluntarily watches the East channel. It's always the same thing. You only hear about what's happening over there.

It's all so narrow, so boring. Sure, maybe they show you a scene from Saudi Arabia where a few more fascists got shot and killed....

Klotzer: ...and it is all such fabricated junk on our television channel. And here there's a little more truth to it.

SPIEGEL: When your group got together, wasn't there anybody who spoke well of the GDR?

Klein: You mean somebody who really believed in the system? No, I don't know anybody like that.

Klotzer: Well, I don't know. Schule, for instance, he wants to join the service for 3 years. Who, of all things, wants to spend 3 years in the military, unless he has only one leg. It is not normal. One of our buddies who meets with us every day in the courtyard tells us that he wants to spend 3 years in the army...

Klein: ...because it's the only way he can get to study at the university or get permission to travel. I'm sure it was something like that.

SPIEGEL: But you didn't talk about these things when you met in the courtyard?

Klotzer: I don't remember. Most of the time we were talking about the West. How colorful everything was, all the ads and the nightlife. Over there everything was always the same and, well, we were just dreaming about it all the time.

SPIEGEL: About what?

Klotzer: Getting the People's Police off our backs when we got together in the courtyard, that a day would come when this eternal boredom would come to an end, when we would be able to buy everything--we were thinking about it all the time.

Klein: Right. When there's nothing to do over there, your thoughts wander: Hey, to be on Kurfuerstendamm, with a heavy machine, in a disco or at a slot machine. That's what we dream about.

SPIEGEL: We thank you for this interview.

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JARUZELSKI INTERVIEWED ON MOSCOW TV

LD121711 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 83

[From the *Vremya* newscast; Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by political observer Georgiy Zubkov, in Warsaw, on 11 October 1983, on the occasion of Polish Army Day; Jaruzelski speaks in Polish with superimposed Russian translation--videorecording]

[Text] [Zubkov] Our meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, takes place in Warsaw. Comrade Jaruzelski receives us at the Council of Ministers. We talk with you, Comrade Jaruzelski, on the eve of an important event which is being celebrated in Poland and the Soviet Union--the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army in the battles fought jointly with the Soviet Army, on the road from Lenino in Belorussia, from the place of the combat baptism, to Berlin.

What is especially memorable to you, as a soldier and officer of the First Army of the Polish Army, in those wartime days? What do you see as the historic significance for mankind by the destruction of fascism; what lessons should be learned from the events of that time?

[Jaruzelski] The Polish Army's jubilee is also a holiday of the whole people. By tradition we consider it as a holiday of the brotherhood-in-arms which unbreakably binds our people's armed forces with the Soviet Army and the armies of other socialist countries. The celebration of this anniversary in Poland is of a festive nature. We are very glad that such great significance is also attached to this 40-year jubilee in the Soviet Union. Forty years is no small period in a human life, but it has not erased from our memory a time that was difficult, but great in historical consequences.

Allow me, dear Soviet comrades, to greet you warmly on the occasion of this jubilee. I am addressing primarily the soldiers of the heroic armed forces of the Soviet Union, the veterans of the great patriotic war, especially those who helped us organize the Polish People's Army, who then fought in its ranks and who shed their blood. I warmly recall our joint combat road and soldierly friendship, which is an especially lofty and valuable manifestation of internationalism.

In this connection--replying to your question--I wish to point out that it is precisely fraternity in battle, fraternity-in-arms, as a moral and profoundly human factor, that has become particularly strongly and durably impressed in my memory.

But this applies rather to my personal memories. If one approaches this more broadly, it is victory over fascism, in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, which takes second place to the Great October Socialist Revolution in its significance for the destiny of mankind. Victory tossed fascism, racism and colonialism on to the rubbish heap of history. The remnants and vestiges of these degenerate, one might say savage forms, have today become some kind of exhibits of the museum of the shame of imperialism which engendered them. It is unable to free itself from this brand of shame, no matter how loudly it may speak about human rights, democracy and freedom.

In a word, one may say that, just as the Great October Socialist Revolution shook the world, victory over fascism brought extremely profound and irreversible changes to it.

The victory over fascism led first of all to the appearance of the countries of the socialist community and then to their further strengthening and, in particular, to a growth in the international authority and defense might of the Soviet Union which has been ensuring peace in Europe and throughout the world for 38 years.

And now, transferring these considerations onto Polish soil, it should be said that just as the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Leninist policy for the self-determination of nations fundamentally influenced the fact that Poland once again gained independence, so the victory over Hitler's fascism and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army and the national Polish Army fighting with it, enabled a truly independent, sovereign Polish state to be reborn.

But this was not just a rebirth. It was not a return to the past, which failed to meet the demands of history. A new, popular, workers' and peasants' state arose, building socialism and a new system of social justice within new, just and secure frontiers. There arose a Poland, which in a historically short period overcame the legacy of age-old backwardness and the terrible destruction caused by war.

Poland is the ally of the land of the Soviets--a reliable link in the socialist community. And you ask what conclusions one can draw from that period. There are many. I shall name but a few: The popular saying has been confirmed: Whoever comes to us with a sword shall die by the sword. Furthermore, it has become increasingly evident that it is essential to fight with all our strength for peace. The destroyers of peaceful coexistence should understand that with the present means of waging war, genocide and mass murder inevitably lead to suicide.

Finally, another conclusion: One of the greatest treasures are the ties of internationalism and genuine humanism binding together the peoples of the socialist community and all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world.

[Zubkov] Soviet people view with fraternal solidarity the efforts being made by Polish communists, workers and patriots to defend and strengthen the gains of socialism on Polish soil. Could you please describe the present situation in Poland and what prospects exist for the process of further stabilization of political and socioeconomic life?

[Jaruzelski] Well, I will briefly answer thus: The most dramatic part is behind us, and the most difficult is ahead. Why the most difficult? Because this will require a great deal of patience, great material self-sacrifice and, first and foremost, time. All of this is taking place under fire from internal and foreign enemies. True, the headquarters of the counterrevolution are proving to have collapsed. The enemy is enjoying less and less support among the public, especially among the working class; but it has still not laid down its arms. It is still nesting in various crannies and dark corners speculating on the difficulties that Polish society is experiencing and on various emotions to which young people are especially prone. Of course, the enemies of socialism have no chance; there are no prospects for them. The sinister plan to overthrow socialism in Poland was decisively foiled on 13 December 1981. The calm and reason with which the overwhelming majority of our people accepted the introduction of martial law is convincing witness to the feelings of patriotic responsibility and to the trust in the People's Polish Army which, in accordance with the party's will, took upon itself the chief task of defending socialism and saving the country.

Martial law has now been lifted and life in the country is normalizing. Improvement is taking place in virtually all sectors. But this, of course, does not mean that the enemies of socialism have stopped agitating, provoking, and poisoning the consciousness of certain groups of the population. It will continue thusly until all working people finally sort out who these false friends of the people really are and how harmful their activity is. The task of our party is and will continue to be to influence this process of maturing social awareness, to strengthen and speed it up. In turn the task of our state organs is the consistent curtailment of antisocialist activity.

With regard to the external enemy, he is the main instigator and strategist of counterrevolution. Naturally the U.S. administration plays a leading role here and under pressure from it several other NATO states also. If it were not so cynical and outrageous the feigned concern of capitalists, millionaires and monopolies about the fate of the Polish worker would simply look paradoxical and ridiculous. It is absolutely clear that Poland has become a pretext in the imperialist game, a sort of training ground in the cold war. Poland is being punished for being a socialist Poland, for being a friend of the Soviet Union, and finally because it saved itself on its own from fratricidal conflict, civil war, and perhaps even from the consequences destabilizing the situation throughout Europe.

A political boycott is being applied to us, as are economic sanctions and propaganda aggression. We will come through this. Imperialist intrigues against Poland have not been and will not be successful. We do not want to be and will not be pawns in someone else's chess game. The course of history cannot be turned back. The United States is very slow to understand this. It took 16 years to recognize the Soviet Union, 25 years to recognize the GDR, 30 years to recognize the People's Republic of China; 11 years passed before Washington understood that it would not be able to suppress the Vietnamese people. We are sure that Washington will learn a lesson from Poland, however long this takes.

Our confidence and calm optimism are strengthened by a feeling of allied solidarity and trust and by the fraternal assistance we have enjoyed and continue to enjoy primarily from the USSR and also from the other fraternal socialist countries. All this becomes a great, historic lesson. As a result of it, the disposition toward the United States which has long existed among a certain part of our society has been deeply undermined, and continues to decrease. At the same time respect, comradeship and a feeling of friendship toward the Soviet Union are growing. This is not just a supposition. It is confirmed by the results of a serious study of public opinion we are conducting. I am glad that I can say this today to our friends, Soviet television viewers.

To sum up what I have said, I should like to add that things are still difficult for us today, but that they are already considerably easier than they were. We want to advance more rapidly, but we cannot always manage to do this. It is not always possible. Most of all, however, we want to advance in such a way that we never have to retreat again, so as to consolidate every forward step taken and to build the future on healthy foundations.

There is a well-known saying: the quieter you go, the further you will get (tishe yedesh, dalshe budesh). Maybe this is not a very attractive thought, not a very bold one, but it is a realistic one for us. It enables voluntarist deformations (voluntaryistskiye deformatsii), which have often cost us so dear, to be avoided. Every day strengthens our conviction that the way laid down by our party at its ninth extraordinary congress is the correct way, and that we must advance along it resolutely and consistently.

[Zubkov] How do you see the direction of the further development of socialist Poland?

[Jaruzelski] In order to determine the prospects one must assess their basis, their foundation. Today, this amounts to almost 40 years of the building of socialist Poland. In spite of the mistakes which have been perpetrated, and the serious difficulties, this is a country in which, under the leadership of the PZPR, great historic changes have been achieved. No hostile propaganda can wipe this out. Therefore, Poland's future task is never to permit unhealthy phenomena and distortions that contradict Leninist principles and which have done so much harm to the life of our party and our people.

Our outlook is one of persistently overcoming obstacles and disproportions and thus of a return to the path of socialist development. It is an outlook of consolidation of socialist attitudes in the economy, in public, political and cultural life. It is one of a full restoration of trust in the party and in its leading role and the strengthening of its Marxist-Leninist nature, safeguarding the leading role and the place of the working class and also the expansion of the class influence of the trade unions. Finally, it is one of strengthening a socialist state, implementing reforms which correspond to the requirements of socialist democracy, and building national accord in accordance with the fundamental historical interests of the Polish People's Republic.

These are our tasks which determine the need for strenuous labor, good organization, a high level of discipline and the strengthening of socialist public consciousness. That is the primary course being paved by the party and by Poland.

[Zubkov] In the postwar world, the foreign policy course of fraternal Poland as of other states in the socialist community has invariably aimed at preserving and consolidating the peace and security of the peoples and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. At present, through the fault of imperialist forces, the international situation has sharply deteriorated. What do you see as the significance of the peaceful initiatives agreed among member states of the Warsaw Pact and of the new Soviet proposals for limiting nuclear weapons and for averting the threat of war?

[Jaruzelski] In answering previous questions I have already spoken in part about the threat to peace posed by imperialism. I do think however that it is worth stressing again that the current world situation is complex and dangerous. The U.S. administration is turning the United States into a state of war. It has obvious intentions and makes clear attempts to destroy the balance of forces on a global scale and to reverse historic changes. Plans, and the first steps that are already underway, to deploy new U.S. missiles in western Europe are especially adventurist in nature.

We fully share the appraisal of this situation given by Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. We support the peaceful initiatives of historic significance that he advanced on behalf of the Soviet Union. They are a vivid confirmation of unchanging Leninist peace-loving policy. We are loyal to the accords achieved at the summit conference in Prague and Moscow.

We are in solidarity with the measures which the Warsaw treaty regarded and will regard as necessary and expedient to undertake. The people's Wojsko Polskie has always--even at the most dangerous moments and the most difficult period of threat from counterrevolution--remained a reliable link in our socialist defensive alliance. At our Polish sector of the socialist front, no breach, no gap, no chink occurred. It will always continue to be so.

For all the difficulty of the situation, we are not losing our confidence that peace can be kept safe. The countries of the socialist community,

relying on the peace-loving aspirations of the working people of the whole world, will place a barrier in the path of the forces of war.

[Zubkov] The friendship and cooperation of our countries and peoples have been tested by time. The leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party and of your people's republic, and you personally, Comrade Jaruzelski, have, on repeated occasions, put a high value on our mutual relations, describing them as one of the integral factors in the sure advance of people's Poland. What do you regard as the tasks needed to further deepen the brotherhood and cooperation linking our countries?

[Jaruzelski] The Polish-Soviet alliance was, is and will remain the cornerstone of the class and national interests of the Polish People's Republic.

This has been confirmed once again with full force by the latest difficult years, and by the genuine friendship whose numerous manifestations we unfailingly saw, and see, from the Soviet Union. We strive to develop and enrich cooperation with your great country in all spheres.

We unanimously regard the further quantitative and qualitative expansion of this cooperation as necessary. We call this an in-depth reorientation, particularly in the economic sphere, a reorientation in the direction of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. We have already begun this process and we have an interest in continuing it and to expand and accelerate it in practically all spheres--party, trade union, youth, scientific and cultural.

In this connection I should like to stress that between the leaderships of our parties and states there exist relations imbued with mutual trust and understanding. I personally place a high value on every contact with Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, for whom I have profound respect and liking.

[Jaruzelski continues, in Russian] To end our conversation, permit me to warmly congratulate the great Soviet people and all Soviet communists on their historic achievements and to wish you, dear friends, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and the Government of the Polish People's Republic, great new victories in the construction of communism. I also wish you much health and personal happiness.

CSO: 1807/16

DAILY VIEWS SOVIET, U.S. RELATIONS WITH PRC

AU061341 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Michal Bobrzynski: "'The Snakes and the Monsters' That Threaten No Longer"]

[Text] The threshold of September and October was a special occasion to recall two turning-points in the history of the Middle Kingdom.

It was on 1 October 34 years ago that Mao Zedong proclaimed the emergence of the People's Republic of China from the balcony of the Tienanmen gate in Beijing's central square. September marked the seventh anniversary of the death of the Great Helmsman. In remembrance of precisely this anniversary we should recall Mao's saying that, "snakes and monsters crawl out of their hiding places every 7 years." These generally repulsive creatures were supposed to symbolize the "bourgeoisie policy lines" and the "counterrevolutionaries" that China was fighting against, includind Deng Xiaoping.

The 7 years of Deng's comeback to the Chinese political scene (he is now a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPC Central Committee Military Commission) has been a time of the De-Maoization of various areas of life which was called, without exaggeration, the time of the "great purge" (let us note that this is written in lower case as opposed to the Great Leap Forward or the Great March).

Many basic values have been consolidated in the PRC in recent years, values like the law and order of the socialist state, the structure of the state, the administration, and its economic policy which are all based on the division of labor and take the demands of the market and of work productivity into account. The continuity of the changes which have taken place has been stressed, changes which will undoubtedly allow China to avoid any sudden relapses that could be forced on it during the struggle. The more just (than in the past) treatment of intelligent people seems to be not without significance for the harmonious development of the PRC. The sequential indicators of change in China are the favorable development of its cultural policy, and the renunciation of egalitarianism where it was slowing down progress.

The PRC has made several openings in its relations with other countries. This is evidenced by its contacts with Western countries and its very promising friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe. This was how the PRC started its 35th year of existence.

The opening balance-sheet of the PRC's anniversary year cannot ignore the results of the September visits to Beijing of Mikhail Kapitsa, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Caspar Weinberger, U.S. defense secretary.

The visit of Deputy Minister Kapitsa to the PRC capital testifies to the good will of both sides to maintain a political dialogue. If the Soviet-Chinese dialogue is aimed at improving relations between both countries then one cannot exclude the fact that they may in the future reach a state of total normalization. The optimism surrounding M. Kapitsa's talks in Beijing was due to the fact that it was the first time in 20 years that the Chinese side had officially invited a high-ranking representative from the Soviet diplomatic service.

M. Kapitsa's visit to the PRC was a precursor to the third round of Sino-Soviet consultations on the normalization of relations, which start this month.

Some of the observers who are examining the possibilities of removing the differences that exist between the two, have indicted that the negotiations which have recently been carried out in Beijing have opened up a new channel of political contacts between the USSR and the PRC, for M. Kapitsa invited his Chinese counterpart Quian Quichen, vice minister of foreign affairs, to pay an official visit to the USSR.

The fact that relations between the PRC and the United States had once been better has been all the more obvious during Ronald Reagan's presidency. The Republicans' sentiments for the Taiwan regime, which were expressed by U.S. arms supplies to the island, are responsible for Beijing's mistrust of Washington. Reagan's administration, on the other hand, was not in a hurry to "win the favor" of the Beijing leadership, something which Caspar Weinberger ultimately gave away by saying that, "we know that we made a mistake by waiting so long."

If we want to try to weigh up the benefits gained by the PRC and the United States, then Weinberger's visit looks as though it will have more pluses for the Chinese side. Beijing was able to break down Washington's resistance to commit itself to a broader cooperation with the PRC. China will gradually obtain what it wants most from the United States, and that is, certain kinds of military and dual application (military and civil) technology. Reagan's administration, despite Weinberger's ardent assurance that his "spirits have been raised" (as a result of his talks with the PRC defense minister) had to make the following concessions, the price of getting the electoral trump card for the Republicans were good relations with the PRC, and the fear of friendly relations between Beijing and Moscow.

The Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang reminded us, for his part, that the Chinese position on international problems is determined after every issue has been suitably examined, without regard to the wishes of the superpowers. This view is typical of the process of change of the PRC's foreign policies. It repairs the relations between the Middle Kingdom and the USSR.

CSO: 2600/78

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PARTY INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION

AU050840 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof Dr Eugeniusz Duraczynski, head of the PZPR Central Committee Science and Education Department, by Piotr Rzadca: "Confidence and Responsibility--the Party's Participation in National Education"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Rzadca] Two years have passed since the Ninth Party Congress. How do you regard the implementation of the congress resolution insofar as it concerns national education?

[Duraczynski] What I say might cause disbelief among some of our readers struggling with daily difficulties; but with one exception, all of the tasks are being performed or have been completed already. The only missing element is a government program of investments for education. However, a detailed report showing the needs of education and taking into account the rise in the population, depreciation of assets, and the need to improve conditions inside schools has been worked out. The possibilities for action must be set out both on a national scale and on a voivodship scale, since decisions to make investments in education have been decentralized. The needs of schools have been taken into consideration in some voivodships, but in other voivodships matters concerning schools are right at the very end of the list, although the leaders in these voivodships have put forward many arguments justifying their priorities. Work on this government program is continuing.

The second sphere of matters emerging from the congress resolution involves the spreading of secondary education. We will resolutely aim at this goal, although at a slower pace than was envisaged in the seventies when the concept of a 10-year school was formed. This concept was abandoned mainly because of problems with materials and cadres.

[Rzadca] The political battle that is being waged has not left out schools. For there have been attempts to strike and set young people against the socialist state and to violate the secularity of schools. Therefore, it is becoming essential to intensify educational work, especially because a lot is being said about shortcomings in this area.

[Duraczynski] The view that if schools have an excellent program and implement it consistently there will be no trouble with education, is a mistaken one. The work of schools must be accompanied by an effort by the whole of society to impart education, even though schools are of decisive importance in this general process of educating children and young people.

One of the most tragic features of the political battle led by the opposition after August 1980 was the transfer of this struggle to the community of schoolchildren. For what can be more immoral than to drag young people into activity the purpose of which they cannot understand and into political contests in which they are only innocent tools?

We are taking all these faults into consideration, but we want, above all, to show concern for the mental well-being and civic attitudes of the young generation. And that is why deep discussions went on last year on the subject of how to bring up young children and by what ideals. From this discussion, a document emerged presenting the chief goals of educational work in schools. This program is now becoming the basis for concrete educational programs. The most important and most difficult phase is now coming--the implementation of this program. No one expects that we will achieve massive change in one year, since this has to be a long-term task, as every aspect of education is. But at the end of this school year we would like jointly to examine during sessions of educational councils and teachers party organizations what kind of progress has been made and what kind of conditions there are to increase the effectiveness of education. It is this recommendation that was contained in the ninth congress resolution.

We also wrote in the resolution that our schools are secular in nature, which is what the PPR constitution says. For only a secular school may implement the basic values of socialist humanitarianism and create the right conditions for development and for the attainment of knowledge. That is why all attempts to clericalize school life must be regarded as an infringement of constitutional principles.

[Rzadca] How can one describe the situation, troubles, and political climate inside colleges in the most concise terms?

[Duraczynski] Colleges are struggling with many difficulties. For there are material shortages, a lack of scientific equipment, a shortage of foreign literature, and so on. Decisions have already been made, the results of which will ease these problems at least partly. Regulations concerning school supplies and equipment have been made in recent years, but according to Main Statistical Office data, the average wages of teachers in 1981 were 87 percent of the average wages in the socialized economy. So work on a way out is being continued so that the justified demands of schools are met without the creation of additional channels of inflation.

Our academic community became clearly divided in 1980-1981. The divisions were sharp. On the one side there were socialist and prosocialist forces, and not only party members; and on the other side was the openly antisocialist

opposition, which was not very strong numerically, but was boisterous and aggressive. And between the two sides was a considerable number of teachers and students who did not identify with these noisy groups, but did not wish to admit to having ideological ties with the prosocialist forces either. An attitude of expectation, ignorance, naivete, and even opportunism was involved here.

Nevertheless, a process which I would call a rationalization of attitudes began as early as last year. The prosocialist stream became clearly stronger and the influence of the antisocialist groups diminished, and at the same time we observed a revision of views among the abovementioned "middle." This had an important effect on limiting the activity of the political opposition. I am convinced that these trends will continue. The progressing stabilization of the life of the country is encouraging this, as well as the implementation of the law on higher education.

[Rzadca] What does the Central Committee expect of party organizations in colleges during the new academic year?

[Duraczynski] I will begin by saying that the party is a considerable numerical force in colleges. In January 1983 we had almost 115,000 party members in primary and secondary schools, and in high schools we had almost 25,000 members--not counting those people who are employed by the Ministries of National Defense and of Internal Affairs. Every fourth teacher is a member of our party, and every third professor, dean, and doctor is a member. But this is a force which is not fully cohesive and not possessing full influence on its community. That is why the basic task this year will be to make qualitative changes in this sphere. Only when this statistical majority becomes a fully influential force will it be possible to talk about firm influence on the views and attitudes of nonparty people. And the way to achieve this is for party members and their organizations to undertake programmatic and political initiatives.

CSO: 2600/79

AUTHOR QUESTIONS PARTY VITALITY

AU171524 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14/16 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "The Party in 1983--Will They Come?"]

[Excerpts] What does it mean "young persons in the party?" Can one have special hopes of such persons? Can one place special requirements on such persons? What can such persons demand from their party? What conditions should encourage young persons to come to the party?

These questions are not as simple as they look, especially now, in the present complicated and difficult situation when problems such as food, footwear, and extra earnings for one's family in order to survive, obscure wider issues. It is hard to speak about ideals when one has to wait in line for hours to buy staple goods, when a towel is a luxury, and when the purchase of a refrigerator or television set not only requires money, but also patience in waiting and the luck of being able to work in a large factory in which one can win by lot a coupon for those dreamed of products.... However, let us answer, at least briefly, the question posed at the beginning of this article: What does "young persons in the party" mean?

Young persons in the party determine the party's survival and development. If young people are in the minority in a social organization and, especially, a political party, such an organization or party begins to grow old and may even gradually disappear from public life for biological reasons.

A political party, especially a governing party needs young persons for other reasons as well. The party that is reinforced with the masses of young people does not become divorced from the individual groups of its society. Such a party's age, class, and professional composition should more or less be consistent with the cross section of its society. This is not so in our party. There are only 260,000 members of our party of up to 30 years of age, whereas young people of this age group account for over 40 percent of our working adults and for 50 percent of our working class.

Young persons are the strength of every party and of every movement in times of revolutionary change and great social upheavals. At such times young persons constitute the mass of their organization's first strike and are backed by older and experienced people. On the other hand, during periods of stability the young people's reforming zeal and aspirations become generally muted and less needed.

What can we hope for from young people? We can mainly hope for their unrest and discontent with the current state of affairs. It goes without saying that we can hope for this only if young people have not been "tamed" and "trained" to obedience and mediocrity. Unfortunately, such manifestations have been part and parcel of our system of education and upbringing as well as of the forms and methods of work in our young people's movement.

The period of the political invigoration of groups of young people is behind us. These groups were active in Solidarity, showing militancy and dedication. They went on strike day and night, believing that they were fighting for a truly better tomorrow. Their superiors, who headed Solidarity, took advantage of their enthusiasm and skillfully nourished it. The errors committed by the party against young generations for many years became the strength of those Solidarity chiefs. And although the political aims of Solidarity headquarters were demagogic and hostile to young people's own objective interests, those chiefs managed to tap and maintain the great enthusiasm, commitment, and energy of young people for a long time.

The party must activate young people in its own ranks in order to satisfy their most vital needs resulting from their age and youth. If it does this, it will be able to expect them to show militancy, courage, commitment, dedication, offensiveness, and passion in defending its political line.

There are many spheres in which the party does not always wage successful ideological campaigns. Why is it that discussion meetings are attended only by the lecturers from the Central Committee, the voivodship committees, the city committees, and so on? Why are students of philosophy, sociology, and political science not sent out to attend such meetings as part of their studies? Why do students and scientists of economics not meet with workers on the subject of the economic reform? Why is it that party students in the polytechnical schools do not assist the workers who are rationalizers? Why do party workers not meet students and pupils to discuss politics in simple language in order just to discuss and not to train and indoctrinate? Why is this not so in the case of workers and farmers? Why is there so little political struggle, which is an open struggle and not the one programmed for victory, in our life? If we had such a struggle, it would be the young people who would join in it in the first place. Perhaps they would be frightened to begin with, but they would join it. This is what we can and should expect of them, because they are best equipped for it, at least in theory.

What do young people expect of the party? It is certain that they no longer expect to be given apartments and cars. Fortunately, such times are over and done with. Let us hope that they will never return, except when perhaps party members will again be rewarded for only their party prowess....

Young people expect the party to treat them seriously, to be active and honest, and to absolutely implement the banner slogans that induce them to join the party. Young people are sensitive to pure morality, the one they learn about at school and from literature and the arts.

Each practical violation of this morality releases a shock among young people and makes them disaffected or rebellious or certainly makes them withdrawn, helpless, and apathetic.

If our party wants to win over young people for its ranks, it does not have to promise them the earth, including apartments, cars, and other privileges. It can even tell them openly and brutally that party members will have to wait at the end of the line. But what it must do is to be unwaveringly, perseveringly, and unyieldingly consistent in action.

It is a fact that the party's present style of work is something new. The party no longer forgets about its resolutions, and this is attested to by the consistency in implementing the ninth plenum decisions on the affairs of young people and by the large all-Poland conferences, which in recent times have ended in resolutions whose implementation is being made public. However, my journalistic contacts with young people, mainly young workers, prove that all that is not enough, because our life and our reality are not changing enough as a result of these resolutions and decisions.

Will young people come to the party? It is certain that they will not join the party in massive droves, and this is not what we need. It is unfortunate that at present the answer to that question is in the negative. The conditions, which I have just touched upon, are not being satisfied. The party continues to fail to give the impression that it is a fighting party, which is not because its members do not want to fight. It is because we do not know how to demand this from the masses of party members. No work is done on the forms [of struggle]. Afraid of political risks, we withdraw into meetings and into party internal life. However, the internal struggle is a witchhunt. Society watches the party from without.

The party does not need anonymous masses of young people in its ranks, and such anonymous masses will not join the party. Young people will come to the party if it ensures the implementation of their basic needs stemming from their ages and not only from their political convictions. Many convinced young men and women continue to wait before joining the party. They are not certain whether they will be able to fight in precisely this party for the ideals of socialism meant for the people. They will come to the party as soon as it finds itself in the frontline of the struggle against bureaucracy and the struggle for the economic reform and political reforms, but not the struggle through central declarations, resolutions, and decrees. They will come to the party when it is visibly present in factories and in villages, when it is so present through young party members supported by their party meetings and primary party organizations, when it knows how to be first to act as a punitive body in favor of justice, when party organizations do not pass resolutions that defend the cliques of managers and attack the daily that has protected a "got at" worker (this has happened to SZTANDAR MLODYCH not so long ago), when the party, which is responsible for government, eliminates (and not the sector itself!) the excessive profits of the private sector, when it liquidates the possibilities for profiteering (instead of catching out profiteers), when criticism in the party becomes effective and creative, and when conflicts are not bunched together, but are solved at last.

This is what the young nonparty people are saying. They are not enemies, they are the young who are waiting for their political opportunity. They do not have to come directly to the party itself, which should be joined only by the best of them. To come to the party is to act jointly with it, promote its initiatives, and believe in it at last.

Most young people want to believe in the party. Objectively, there is no other road for them if they do not want to live in bitterness and discontent and to vegetate. But the process of believing will not be automatic. It may never take place. This process must be carried out by the efforts of the entire party and of all the levels of authority. This is because to believe in ideology and in the ways of its implementation is to believe words.

CSO: 2600/81

RAKOWSKI MEETS WITH ARTISTS IN NOWA HUTA

LD091919 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 9 Oct 83

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Oct (PAP)--Meeting a wide circle of artists and culture workers in the Krakow District of Nowa Huta today, Polish Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski recalled two facts:

One--the culture budget has remained unreduced in spite of the economic crisis,

Two--the PUWP and the government invariably abide by the principle of creative freedom, in spite of the still so much complicated internal and external political situation.

The vice-premier went on saying:

"The differences in the interpretation of what constitutes the supreme interest of the state have engendered and still bring about conflicts between the authorities and a part of the arts milieu. The conflicts took a sharp form and entailed the necessity of administrative moves, sometimes very painful for art-making milieus.

"The authorities have demonstrated the maximum of good will and patience," said Mr Rakowski adding that it had been impossible to hold up any longer the decisions to dissolve some artists' unions.

"The stabilization and quieting down are urgently needed now, and maybe first of all in the artistic and cultural milieus," he argued.

"The important thing now is to cool down the political passions that were at the root of conflict," the vice-premier continued.

"A certain influential part of the creative milieus still long before the martial law was introduced had negated the principles of our social system and represented anti-socialist attitudes which contradicted our *raison d'etat*. These are facts. There were people who spurned every argument. As the authority we were open to compromise solutions. It did not work and the struggle began, the outcome of which should have been known to everyone in advance.

"This is not to mean that today we expect self-criticism from artists. We expect them to return to creative activity, to multiply and present their achievements in the name of the overriding good which is the national culture. What is important is the artist's work and not his name. We hold and we will hold talks with arts people. Maybe there are still too few of such talks, but I can think of no other means of achieving quiet and reconciliation.

Summing up the heated and controversial debate that developed during the meeting, Vice-Premier Rakowski again appealed to the artists to understand that their interests and the interests of the authorities were common.

"We have already left behind the most turbulent period. Let us try not to revert to mutual resentment and animosity. Let us try to jointly perceive and understand in a similar way the interest of Poland, its culture and continuity of the national traditions, to demand from ourselves still more than so far."

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

BRIEFS

MINISTER ON RELIGIOUS CULTURE--The role of ecclesiastical culture in the cultural life of Poland is the subject of a statement made to PAP by Professor Adam Lopatka, head of the Office for Religious Affairs. Minister Lopatka said, among other things, that ecclesiastical culture, more exactly religious culture, was, is, and will remain an essential part of Polish national culture. We must clearly say, Adam Lopatka added, that in the moulding of the Polish socialist national culture there is a permanent place for religious culture, but there is also another side of the question; there appears a real threat, said the minister, that religious culture, particularly Catholic one, exceeds its proper place in national culture. There is visible trend to subordinate the entire national culture to ecclesiastical culture, to eliminate from it progressive and revolutionary thoughts. It would be an error to negate religious culture in our national culture; it would also be an error not to oppose trends towards the clericalization of national culture, and toward its cosmopolitanization, said Adam Lopatka. [Text] [LD142353 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 13 Oct 83]

CSO: 2600/80

COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION VISITS DENMARK

Meets Danish Communists in Copenhagen

AU131909 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Copenhagen, 13 Oct (AGERPRES)--A delegation of the RCP led by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, now visiting Denmark, had interviews with Joergen Jensen, chairman of the Danish Communist Party [DCP], Ib Norlund, Poul Emanuel, members of the Executive Committee, secretaries of the CC of the DCP and Joern Christensen, secretary of the CC of the DCP.

An exchange of cordial salutes between the RCP general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu and the DCP leaders took place on the occasion.

During the talks, mutual information was exchanged on the current activities and concerns of the RCP and DCP and the joint wish was expressed to further expand their fine relations, on the basis of mutual esteem and respect, of international solidarity, in the interests of the two parties and peoples, of the cause of peace and disarmament, of the building of a better and more just world.

Views were also exchanged on major issues of the current international political life. Expressing their concern over the deterioration of the current situation in the world, both parties highlighted the significance of the intensification of the efforts of peoples of peace and disarmament movements and of the public opinion--for the cessation of the arms race, for tangible disarmament measures, for nuclear disarmament above all.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on the need to halt the emplacement of new medium-range missiles in our continent to reduce and scrap the ones in place and to remove the dangers threatening mankind.

Aspects of the international communist and working-class movement were also approached.

### Conclude Talks

AU181859 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1821 GMT 18 Oct 83

[Text] Copenhagen, 18 Oct (AGERPRES)--The talks concluded in Copenhagen, between the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party, led by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and the delegation of the Danish Communist Party, led by Joergen Jensen, chairman of that party.

During the talks, the good relations were highlighted which exist between the RCP and the Danish Communist Party, the wish being expressed to further develop the relations between the two parties, in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect of the talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and Joergen Jensen, chairman of the Danish Communist Party, in the interest of the Danish and Romanian peoples, of the cause of peace, security and national independence, of progress and collaboration among nations. Aspects were also approached of the current international situation, of the communist and working-class movement.

During their stay in Denmark, the RCP delegation met representatives of regional organizations of the Danish Communist Party.

On his visit to Copenhagen, the head of the RCP delegation met Svend Jakobsen, president of the Danish Folketing. During their interview, both sides' wish was noted with satisfaction to expand and intensify their cooperation to the benefit of the multilateral development of the Romanian-Danish relations, of the cause of peace and collaboration among nations.

The role was also highlighted of parliaments and mass and public organizations in deepening the cooperative relations between the two countries and peoples.

CSO: 2020/16

**FINNISH PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE DELEGATION VISITS COUNTRY**

**Meets With Dobrin**

AU152024 Bucharest ACERPRES in English 1909 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Oct (ACERPRES)--On 15 October a delegation of the Finnish People's Democratic League headed by the party's chairman Kalevi Kivistö, called on the National Council of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front], conducting talks with Executive Chairman Tamara Dobrin.

The sides exchanged views on the current activities and preoccupations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and of the Finnish People's Democratic League, on the contribution they make to the social and economic development of the two countries. In the context the sides expressed the wish to expand the mutual information and the collaboration for development and diversification of the relations of collaboration and friendship between Romania and Finland.

**Meets With Ceausescu**

AU171941 Bucharest ACERPRES in English 1850 GMT 17 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Oct (ACERPRES)--On 17 October, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, received the delegation of the Finnish People's Democratic League, led by Kalevi Kivistö, chairman of that party, now on a visit to Romania.

The head of the delegation conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu warm greetings on behalf of the Finnish People's Democratic League.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and in his turn, conveyed the leadership of the league, all the members of the Finnish People's Democratic League warm greetings.

The friendly Romanian-Finnish relations were highlighted during the interview that have expanded and enriched over recent years. The two sides' wish was also expressed to work for the expansion and deepening of the collaboration between Romania and Finland in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other fields of joint interest.'

The significance was highlighted on the strengthening of the relations between the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and the Finnish People's Democratic Union. It was assessed that that contributed to the general development of the Romanian-Finnish relations.

Opinions were also exchanged on aspects of the current international political life. The need was stressed for concerted and intensified efforts towards lessening tension and safeguarding peace, resuming and continuing the policy of detente, collaboration and respect for national independence, settling conflictual states of affairs.

During the talk, the particular importance was emphasized of building European security and cooperation. The consensus reached at the Madrid conference was assessed in that context regarding the convening of the conference on confidence-building, security and disarmament in Europe in Stockholm at the beginning of 1984, just as the understandings covenanted on the continuation of the process initiated in Helsinki by organizing further meetings over the 1983-1986 interval. It was assessed that everything possible should be done for halting the deployment of new medium-range missiles, for the withdrawal and scrapping of the ones in place, for a Europe free of nuclear weapons. The significance was stressed the creation of denuclearized zones in the north of Europe, in the Balkans and in other parts of the continent would have within the process of achieving European security.

Both sides stressed that the struggle for disarmament was closely linked to the struggle for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order.

The interview, also attended by Mihai Burca, vice-chairman of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

CSO: 2020/16

MEXICO'S NOTIMEX INTERVIEWS ROMANIA'S CEAUSESCU

PL141706 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0430 GMT 14 Oct 83

[By Jose Eugenio Lopez Arteaga]

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Oct (NOTIMEX)--During an interview that he granted to NOTIMEX, President Nicolae Ceausescu stated that Romania's position has always been that of not using military force, that is why it supports the peace negotiations that are being carried out in Central America and the Middle East.

After condemning the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union, Ceausescu said that Romania believes that there is a possibility of achieving an agreement at the Geneva talks and that the nuclear balance between the two powers must be achieved through a reduction [of arms] to the lowest possible level, but not through the use of new weapons.

This balance of nuclear weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union must be the first step toward the total elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe and throughout the entire world, he added, and in this respect, Romania has proposed concrete initiatives such as direct negotiations between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

A solution to the problems between nations can only be achieved through negotiations. Romania has firmly declared, and continues to firmly declare, that it opposes the use of military force and the threat of force and, from this viewpoint, it believes that the conflicts in Central America, the Middle East and anywhere else in the world must be resolved through dialogue.

In this respect, Ceausescu added that the Contradora Group's efforts to achieve a solution to Central America conflicts must be supported, because they are very important in preventing foreign interference in the area and they will help the region's countries to exercise their right to chose the economic, political and social development policies that are most convenient for them.

Regarding the Middle East, the complete independence and sovereignty of Lebanon is primordial for resolving the problems of that region and in order to achieve this it is necessary that Israeli troops be withdrawn from that country.

Ceausescu also believes that the creation of a sovereign and independent Palestine state and the start of normal relations between Israel and that state and between Israel and the other Arab countries are very necessary. To this end, Romania supports overall negotiations within the framework of the United Nations, with the participation of everyone that is involved, including the PLO.

Romania also supports the struggles for national liberation, such as the one being fought by Namibia, because the last vestige of colonial domination--which, he said, is about to disappear--must be eradicated.

Moreover, the Romanian president warned that imperialist policies are not limited to colonial domination, they also include new forms: economic and finance and banking policies, which permit inequality and oppression to continue.

The economic crisis has, above all, affected the developing countries. In order to confront it, Romania has submitted several initiatives, he recalled, such as annulling the external debt of those countries that have a per capita income of \$500 to \$600; the reduction of the external debt of another group of countries; and a considerable reduction in the interest rates, which must not surpass 5 or 6 percent.

But, the best answer to the international crisis, Ceausescu added, is that of intensifying productive activities. A country must ever-increasingly resort to its own energy sources and it must strengthen cooperation with other developing countries in order to outline a common strategy with which to face industrialized countries.

Regarding Mexican-Romanian relations, the president said that the two countries have identical, or very similar, positions in foreign policy, but in the economic field there is a lot of room for development.

CSO: 2020/16

DELEGATE ADDRESSES IAEA MEETING IN VIENNA

AU142051 Bucharest ACERPRE in English 1912 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Vienna, 14 Oct (ACERPRE) -- Taking the floor in the plenum of the current session of the IAEA general conference, Romanian chief delegate Ambassador Octavian Groza expressed his country's great worry about the profoundly harmful consequences generated by the arms race for the socio-economic development of all countries, of the developing ones in particular.

Referring to the imperious demand of eradication of underdevelopment and of building a new international economic order, the Romanian chief delegate pointed out that Romania declared and acted firmly for ensuring the free transfer of nuclear technologies, materials and equipment to all non-nuclearized countries, for the wide and unhampered access of all peoples, of every country to the gains of world science and technology, to the whole of the peaceful uses of the nuclear energy. That called for the continuous expansion and strengthening of the international collaboration in conditions of full equality, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-mixture in international affairs and mutual advantage.

The Romanian representative highlighted the efficient and multilateral collaboration between Romania and the agency, the concrete support IAEA granted, through projects of technical assistance, in the carrying through of important programmes, both technological and applicative and fundamental research ones.

Referring to the agency's activity, the speaker stressed that it had to be primarily directed toward securing the access to nuclear energy, thus meeting the developing countries' own concerns and exigencies. Consequently, the financial and human resources of the agency would have to be channeled mainly toward the projects and programmes of technical assistance.

CSO: 2020/16

ROMANIA

DOBRESCU RECEIVES CYPRIOT AKEL DELEGATION

AU132034 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Oct (AGERPRES)--On 13 October Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met the delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus--AKEL, headed by G. Christodulidis [spelling as received] member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the AKEL.

The interview occasioned a cordial exchange of salutes between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and the AKEL Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou.

During the talks the sides analyzed the stage attained by the relations between the two parties and expressed the joint wish to develop them continuously, based on the principles of mutual esteem and respect, full equal rights, noninterference in the domestic affairs, to the interest of the Romanian and Cypriot peoples, and of the cause of international peace and collaboration. Opinions were exchanged on the current preoccupations of the two parties and on certain aspects of the international situation, highlighting the importance of intensified efforts for halting the arms race and for passage to concrete disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament in the first place. At the same time they brought to the fore the need for firm action to be taken in view of halting the siting of new intermediate-range missiles in Europe, and of withdrawal and destruction of the existing ones. The sides laid stress on the need for denuclearized zones to be created in the Balkans and in other European regions.

CSO: 2020/16

GIOSAN, ANDREI RECEIVE INDONESIAN DELEGATION

AU171752 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1612 GMT 17 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Oct (AGERPRES)--On 17 October, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, had an interview with the Indonesian parliamentary delegation led by Hardjantho Sumodisastro [spelling as received], deputy speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia.

During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the ascending course of the relations between the two countries, especially after the Romanian head of state's visit to Indonesia, and the contribution was highlighted which the parliaments and the parliamentarians of the two countries could make to intensifying the bilateral, mutually advantageous collaboration, initiating actions of economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation, as well as cooperation in other fields. The necessity was also stressed to enhance the contribution of the parliaments to halting of the arms race, and attaining the ideals of peace, progress and prosperity of the peoples.

The same day, the delegation was received by the minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Andrei. During the interview, aspects were approached of the good relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, and the common wish was highlighted to further act for the ever stronger development of the Romanian-Indonesian bilateral relations. Views were also exchanged on aspects of the current international political situation.

The Indonesian guests also had an interview with Alexandru Rosu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. Questions were approached of the further development of the commercial exchanges and economic collaboration between Romania and Indonesia.

CSO: 2020/16

ROMANIA

RCP'S BOBU RECEIVES TANZANIAN PARTY DELEGATION

AU152021 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Spelling of all Tanzanian names as received]

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Oct (AGERPRES)--On 15 October Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Mio Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met a delegation of the Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi-CCM) of Tanzania, consisting of Seif Sharif Hamad, member of the National Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the party, Nicodemus Banduka, member of the National Executive Committee, and J. Chiligatin, deputy chief of section at the CC of the party, who invited by the CC of the RCP, paid a visit to Romania.

On the occasion an agreement on cooperation and a protocol were signed between the Romanian Communist Party and the Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi-CCM) of Tanzania. The documents, worked out in the spirit of the understandings reached during the interviews between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Julius Nyerere, stipulate actions meant to result in further development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, and in strengthening of their solidarity and unity with all the progressive, revolutionary and democratic forces in the struggle for social freedom and justice, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, for eradication of underdevelopment and setting up of a new international economic order, for providing every people's right to free, independent development, for disarmament, peace and collaboration throughout the world.

CSO: 2020/16

BRIEFS

ANGOLAN MPLA DELEGATION DEPARTS--Bucharest, 14 Oct (AGERPRES)--Pascoal Luvuhlu [spelling as received], member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the MPLA--Party of Labour of Angola, personal envoy of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, left Bucharest on 14 October. The guest was seen off by Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. [Text] [AU142048 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 14 Oct 83]

UN OFFICIAL FOR EUROPE--Bucharest, 18 Oct (AGERPRES)--Paying a visit to Romania over 16-19 October, Klaus Sahlgren, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, conducted talks with Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei on the ways of applying, within the commission, the final documents of the Madrid conference and of strengthening the collaboration between Romania and that regional body of the UN. Klaus Sahlgren also had interviews with Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Trandafir Cocarla, minister of electric power, Ion Ursu, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, and with Maria Groza, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The guest also attended a round table conference organized by the Association of International Law and International Relations on the role and prospects of the commission's activity in promoting economic cooperation in Europe. [Text] [AU181858 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 18 Oct 83]

CEAUSESCU CABLES PDRY PRESIDENT--To Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP] Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. The 20th anniversary of the beginning of your revolution affords me a pleasant opportunity to convey to you cordial congratulations and sincere wishes for personal health and happiness, and for progress and prosperity for the friendly Yemenite people. I am fully convinced that in the future, too, the relations of friendship between our countries and parties will intensify and develop, at both the bilateral and international levels, in the mutual interests of our peoples and of the general cause of peace, detente, and independence in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [AU171423 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Oct 83 p 5]

CSO: 2020/16

DISSIDENT VIEWS, PARTICIPANTS AT POLITICAL MEETINGS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 83 pp 18-21

[Article by Slavko Curuvija and Jelena Lovric: "Contested Discussions of Hot Topics"]

[Text] Last year in the indescribable turmoil at the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade the witty, charming, and above all eloquent Rudi Supek shouted out: "There has never been more Stalinism in the party than over the last 10 years."

At the Narodna Knjiga Salon, the above all eloquent Esad Cimic, with interruptions by Moma Kapor, with stories about destruction of books in Bosnia-Hercegovina and about his own and others' political suffering conceived and carried out by the political and intellectual establishment of that republic. In yet a third place the provocative Vuk Draskovic declared to an exalted audience that he did not acknowledge the Moslem nationality! And now in just the last few days, before the real season of discussions has even begun, a citizen of Belgrade has had an opportunity to read and hear, say, Kosta Cavoski and Vojislav Kostunica suggest that for a time after the war no one knew how many parties Yugoslavia would have in building socialism and that the well-known outcome is a product of historical accidents and of, as it were, a communist plot and communist cunning!

At the same time certain "keepers of the ideological health of the people" are sounding the alarm:

"The discussions are becoming a place for the opposition to gather. Various petitions are signed at them without a basis, without theoretical and scholarly arguments, certain figures and their writings are glorified and disputed. The orientation in the program of the League of Communists is negated at them, the prestige of the authorities is detracted from, the achievements of the revolution and constitutional principles are contested, and organized criticism and what amounts to a witch-hunt have been revived against the values of this society on behalf of petty political interests. 'Party leaders' without parties, representatives of militant ideological currents, and organized critics of the policy of the League of Communists are going from one discussion to another attempting to impose on them their own tone and ideological coloring!"

Is that really what the discussions are like?

Not all public discussions are like that, nor are all the "official" views concerning them like the one referred to. We have played around a bit with the method of "exclusive selection of the negative and partial," that is, with that same method used abundantly by certain "stars" of our discussions.

#### The Ones Left Out

In recent years there have been more and more discussions, more and more topics being discussed, and more and more people in the audience. That seems to be typical everywhere. In Belgrade last year and the first half of this year alone the 10 or so permanent discussion series and several Pioneer and youth centers, people's universities, libraries and various associations which do this only occasionally organized and conducted about 1,000 public discussions, and the audience ran to 6 figures. In Zagreb there are now already about 300 organizers ("principals" as they so nicely put it) of public discussions. Nor is it surprising if there should be some privatization in such a large number, and in some, as emphasized in the Croatian LC Central Committee and in the Presidium of the Zagreb City Committee, some "one-sided orientation either as an exercise ground for expression of an intensified critical attitude toward society and culture or as a very suitable form for spreading the influence of various opinions in the public."

"An opportunity is also being opened up for negative ideological politicization of the public," Vjekoslav Koprivnjak said at that time. "Today this is already characteristic of certain discussions, and it could impose a particular ideological and political profile on their audience." Koprivnjak mentioned some of the discussions in Belgrade and Ljubljana as the occasion of such fears and as a warning.

According to what we have learned and according to the calculations of those concerned with public discussions, over the last 1.5 years there have been in Belgrade some 50 public discussions of "hot topics"--books arousing great interest or events arousing the attention of a broad public. Approximately a third [the mathematical logic of the next sentence suggests that "three" is meant here] of them indirectly or directly offered the political tone with which we began this article. It is obvious, then--even assuming that the organizers of the discussions we talked with have somewhat less strict criteria for evaluation of political provocations than ordinary members of the audience or people who do this as professional politicians--that at the most 2 percent of the public discussions could have created or did create a certain political tension.

"The discussions are like the newspaper, it is just that they are oral," says Ratko Pekovic of the Youth Center. "As soon as some current issue arises, we react out of a desire to organize an attractive discussion. That is why misunderstandings may come about. A combination of different speakers and a segment of the audience who have come exclusively to hear something 'bold' and provocative may cause a certain strain." Nenad Djakovic of the same institution says that such incidents are usually resolved by democratic methods in

the discussion itself and he gives the example of Stipe Suvar, who was applauded for his first response to a provocation from the audience. Both of the organizers assert that they regularly invite all those who can contribute to a creative discussion of a "given topic," but a problem arises, according to them, when some of those invited, after hearing that others are coming who cannot be referred to as men of like mind, simply fail to appear, and only one opinion is prevalent in the discussion. They say that usually it is representatives of the field of politics and intellectuals close to "official" policy who do not appear. To be sure, their counterpart Dragan Stojanovic of the Marxist Center in Belgrade says that even such problems could be avoided, since an experienced organizer knows in advance who goes with whom, that is, what will happen if he invites such-and-such participants for such-and-such a topic.

#### The Audience

"Still there are not many reasons for political dissatisfaction," says Ljubomir Kljakic, director of the Student Culture Center, since the risk of speaking in public lies only in what it arouses in the public, and the public, says Jelica Rocenovic of the Student City Culture Center, is mostly very mature and highly sensitive to one-sidedness of any kind: it does not put up with dogmatic sermons and monologues, nor any attempt to speak without a sound line of argument. The results of research done by Srecko Mihailovic of the Center for Political Science Research and Public Opinion of the Belgrade Social Sciences Institute confirm that Jelica Rocenovic might be right: 38 percent of those attending discussions are members of the League of Communists, and another 30 percent declare that they are members of other sociopolitical organizations. The most frequent members of the audience are high school and university students and university-trained specialists. The experience in Zagreb also shows that young people--high school and university students--represent nearly a third of the audience at discussions. According to the survey, most of them are attracted to the discussion by the topic (68 percent), by the speakers (17 percent), and only thereafter by expectation of a sensation or the like. The favorite topics are sociological and political (27.2 percent), topics in the fields of religion and mysticism (20.7 percent), and culture and art (19.2 percent). The "ranking" of the speakers who have left the best impression on members of the audience in Belgrade is also interesting. A convincing lead is held by Nikola Milosevic, professor at the School of Philosophy of Belgrade University (we are giving the list in the box below). We asked Milosevic why he regularly responds to invitations to take part in public discussions. He said:

"I think that responding to invitations which a man receives from various public discussions is a kind of moral and intellectual obligation. That is how I see it. It is an extremely thankless task to comment on data concerning my reputation with the audience of public discussions, but perhaps one of the reasons is that I am very anxious to enter into a dialogue. I find that the main thing for an audience, which for years has been habituated to monologues recited by several voices, is how ready a participant in the discussion is to get into an argument...."

The argument that someone's popularity in public discussions depends directly and exclusively on knowledge, charm and eloquence seems to us a bit debatable, however. Here are the arguments: in 1981 a discussion of "Pigeon Pit" by Jovan Radulovic in the Belgrade Youth Center was attended by an audience of 55, and just a year later a performance of the play was for months the rage among thousands of curious people. Everyone knows what had happened in the meantime. Or: the discussions in which Nikola Milosevic participated in 1981 were attended by an audience numbering between 42 and 85. A year later their number had multiplied many times over: between 420 and 810 people were coming to hear Milosevic. It is obvious that the political treatment of certain topics or people dizzily increases their fascination. Discussions about "Yugoslavia's situation at the present moment," about religion and mysticism, and about "quarrelsome" books are regularly attended by an audience running between 400 and 800.

The survey says that most of the audience is inactive (35.6 percent) or rarely active (53.4 percent), and those who are frequently active (11 percent) make up the smallest group. Among those who are active most attend public discussions regularly, and they, as Ratko Pekovic says, have become a part of the folklore of public discussions. Incidentally, the audience is exclusively receptive (sits and listens) in discussions furnishing scientific or scholarly information, while in "discussions of current topics" it is receptive and active (enters into the discussion, asks questions), but it is also active with admixtures of mass behavior (inarticulated and gestured expressions: applause, shouts and whistles).

#### Tired-Out Marxists

What do people who attend public discussions think about the political provocations and about the influence which the discussions have on public opinion? A fourth say that there are no political provocations and opinions at all which are opposed to the basic commitments of the system, half think that such occurrences are rare, 15 percent that such opinions can be heard at several discussions, and only 5 percent are concerned because of the frequency of these provocations.

Is this a lot or not very much? Can we put up with it? Should we deliver emotional speeches about this and call meetings saturated with the officialism of the speaker's rostrum and forum, or should we go out to the public discussions, go out in the world, and fight for our ideas on the spot? Recently someone put an exceptional question: Who is to blame that learned theologians come to the public discussions, but learned Marxists do not come or remain silent at them?

"The main problem," says Dusan Janjic, deputy director of the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC Central Committee, "is that the party does not become involved in these discussions through its most distinguished members. Such people do not feel an obligation at all to participate in public discussions and to react when this is necessary."

Here are some examples of Janjic's assertion: at the discussions already mentioned where Rudi Supek spoke, they asked a well-known "party" intellectual if he wished to speak. Hardly in this madhouse, he answered. And Zorica Stipetic spoke about the same phenomenon in the Presidium of the Zagreb City Committee: even when provocations are anticipated, even if places suspected with good reason to be gathering places for oppositionist discussion, there will hardly be one or two Marxists ready to offer opposition. She also gave the example of a discussion of Lasic's book about Krleza when there was only one person "on our side." Or in a discussion where the guest was Nikola Milosevic, who is known as a "star of oppositionist gathering," when only one Marxist opposed with a serious line of argument the "horrifying theses--horrifying not only in their political tendency, but also in their primitive aggression and unscientific approach." Zorica Stipetic, known incidentally for her militance, has even admitted self-critically that in certain situations even she "was not in a mood" to offer opposition.

"The examples concerning the public discussions," she has concluded, "tell us the same thing as an analysis of the state of social consciousness: the Marxists are tiring out."

"The problem does not lie in the existence of contested discussions, but in our ineffectiveness in exposing them and in the defectiveness of the ideological effort which the LC ought to be conducting," says Dean Ajdukovic. "Our failure to appear in the absence of well-argued opposition makes it appear that the party is on the ideological defensive."

Ajdukovic told how in the discussion series known as "Thought and Reality," which was organized in the School of Philosophy at Zagreb University and was regarded in political circles as very debatable, neither past nor present members of the central committee had asked to speak to oppose certain unacceptable views.

[Box, p 21]

#### List of Belgrade Lecturers and Discussion Participants

<u>Lecturers and Participants</u>	<u>Percentage of Respondents</u>
1. Nikola Milosevic, professor	34.2%
2. Vladeta Jerotic, psychiatrist	13.2%
3. Anastasije Jeftic, theologian	10.1%
4. Amfilohije Radovic, theologian	9.6%
5. Zarko Puhovski, philosopher	7.5%
6. Dimitrije Bogdanovic, member of the academy	6.1%
7. Zoran Gluscevic, literary critic	6.1%
8. Ljubomir Tadic, philosopher	5.7%
9. Branko Pavlovic, philosopher	5.3%
10. Radomir Lukic, member of the academy	4.4%
11. Predrag Matvejevic, professor	4.4%
12. Esad Cimic, professor	4.4%

List (continued)

<u>Lecturers and Participants</u>	<u>Percentage of Respondents</u>
13. Stevan Petrovic, psychiatrist	3.9%
14. Branko Horvat, professor	3.5%
15. Eugen Verber, literary translator	3.2%
16. Zagorka Golubovic, sociologist	3.2%
17. Miladin Zivotic, philosopher	3.2%

Source: Survey conducted by the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade.

"One is unhappy to learn," says Miloje Popovic, member of the Presidium of the Belgrade City Conference of the SAWP, "that party members before the war took advantage of every possible bourgeois public discussion, even those when politics were not discussed, in order to fight for their ideas, while today bourgeois ideas and criticism are arousing the greatest interest in Marxist discussions."

They say of Petar Zivadinovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, that along with Stipe Suvar, he is one of the rare learned Marxists holding political office who willingly attends public discussions and enters into a dialogue. He told us that the rightwingers seem to have the upper hand on the public scene, since the Marxists are more critical toward their own party than toward the things which are happening. They pass over them in silence.

"Who, for instance, has raised his voice against the abuse of science...? Marxist intellectuals stand aloof and withdraw from the struggle, while the rightwingers take up positions!"

Public Discussions Are Waiting

"There are no longer any conventional politicians--fighters," Miloje Popovic feels. "It is well known how they are recruited, so it is no wonder if they are afraid to present their own opinion without consulting a forum." He says that many good people have fallen out because of various quotas in personnel policy, and afterwards they have not been involved in any forms of political work. Balsa Spadijer, secretary of the Belgrade University Committee of the LCY, speaks about the intellectual laziness of Marxists and about the activity of the LC as a party in power. Incidentally, why should the party members fight now, when they have already taken power? Like Spadijer, Petar Zivadinovic also thinks that it is a question of a party in deep slumber and about reactionaries who are highly practiced. Slumbering in the sense that it is mostly pragmatically oriented, but it does not see the significance of theory. The many years of neglect of work on theory in the party, Zivadinovic says, is beginning to bear unpleasant fruit.

And what about public discussions where learned Marxists do not put up a fight?

"There are no reasons," Popovic says, "for us to treat the public discussions as cases of irresponsibility. Pinning on labels is the worst thing." Janjic thinks much the same: "A wise policy would return all the 'philosophers' to the public discussions, since their theses could not withstand the criticism of science.

"If we cast them out of public dialogue, they will be protected and they will gain prestige with the people."

The public discussions are an exceptional democratic achievement of this society.

Some people even say that we are a people devoted to public discussions. They are an expression of our cultural, ideological and political situation, a manifestation of the sizable number of ideological currents, differences and conflicts, and they display the same confusion that prevails in society. The public discussions are an expression of certain shortcomings of our overall cultural, ideological and political activity, and as such they are an actualization of Krleza's view that we have not managed to turn the political victory of our revolution into a cultural and ideological victory. The ever greater interest in open public discussion is a reaction to our dogmatic type of debate, to the shortcomings of our Marxist and cultural education in the school system, and indeed in the system of our political schools as well.

Although perhaps they are a bit out of date as a form of influencing the public, their popularity, especially recently, not only indicates the quality (or lack of it) of the other mass media, but it is also indicative of the other conditions in which we live. A curiosity which cannot be satisfied in other places, questions to which answers cannot be found elsewhere, and also dissatisfaction which cannot be expressed elsewhere--easily finds its vent in the public discussions.

This ought not to be a reason for dissatisfaction, or at least the discomfort cannot stop solely with the public discussions. To lock the doors of some public discussion place, to drive certain people away, to seal someone's lips--that is the easiest, but also the worst solution.

If negative emotions do sometimes get heated up, it is not the public discussions which produce them. While we are still learning democracy, the illusion of Hyde Park is not what we want, but the stiffness of the dogmatic sermon in which there is no pulse of living life represents much less than what we have to have. In this painful progress it is not the party's role just to mete out demerits and deliver hand slaps because of "stepping off limits."

At present it seems that something has after all changed since the time when Krleza said that the people of the Balkans put out their lanterns before they begin to conduct a discussion. Presumably we will not be going back to those dark times.

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YUGOSLAVIA

MUHIC DENOUNCES DISSIDENT PETITION ISSUED AT KOMIZA MEETING

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Sep 83 p 13

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic: "Against All Flags"]

[Text] The petitions from Komiza have called attention to the hypocrisy of our "radicals," who, when they can no longer speak of the threat to intellectuals in Yugoslavia on the basis of their own experience, have to resort to defending their declared ideological opponents.

The meetings of a portion of Yugoslav sociologists and political scientists in Komiza in mid-August billed as "Ante Fiamengo Days" this year once again drew attention to the activity of that orientation of theirs which refers to itself as "radical." At issue were the unambiguous commitments of its protagonists to the multiparty system, the fundamental questioning of Leninism, the treatment of Stalinism as an inevitable product of the era of Lenin and of Soviet October, accusing the CPY-LCY directly or indirectly of "anti-Stalinist Stalinism," and finally, the petitions which were addressed, to the highest political bodies, which is how this game is usually played, concerning certain court trials because of what they see as a threat to intellectual and political freedoms in Yugoslavia. If the problem of our "radicals" is to be examined more comprehensively than one is able to do on the basis of their own propaganda, we need to present numerous facts which obviously do not support the orientation referred to.

The stories about the threat to intellectual freedoms in Yugoslavia and about the Stalinist treatment of the "opposition of leftist intellectuals" is already something so well known even to the foreign public that it is still being discussed only by those most extreme circles which have for a long time overlooked the standards prescribed by socialist self-management or at least the "second," revolution, that is, the revolution against bureaucracy. Interest in this story is flagging for reasons which are most paradoxical for those who fabricated it themselves.

News is not coming out of Yugoslavia about monster trials or large-scale or individual witch-hunts against "freethinkers" or "radicals," nor even about bans on books, scholarly journals or mass media publications. Which is why the attention of the public in the sensationalistic and underground demimonde has been directed toward other countries where such things are happening.

The demimonde referred to, saturated with the pretentiousness of petit bourgeois propaganda, cannot even deny itself a kind of splenetic and involuntary objectivity. Having presumably learned a lesson from the resolution of its own bourgeois parties to free themselves of dissidents at the very moment when they begin to dispute the basic commitments of those parties, this demimonde is no longer ready to view such actions as the exclusive attribute of communist parties, especially when they are performed in the spirit of a political struggle. It therefore refuses to take the propagators at their word, since it recognizes in its own practice what until recently was attributed only to the "socialist countries and Yugoslavia."

#### insinuations and Petitions

Since the insinuation about the persecution of "radical intellectuals" in our country is warmed over from time to time, especially through petitions and by using meetings of scholars, it is worth calling attention to certain acts which this group of intellectuals and those who think like them and their sympathizers carefully avoid talking about.

This insinuation began to be fabricated after a handful of people in this group were discharged from the department of philosophy and sociology at Belgrade University in early 1975. Although an act of that kind was not popular either in the world at large or in our own country, at the time when it was performed it was an expression of a state of affairs in which the excommunicated "radicals" had already instituted themselves as an informally structured, but internally highly homogenized oppositionist grouping. The basic aim of its activity among university students was the fundamental negation of the revolution and the search for an anarchistic or liberal-bourgeois alternative. Neither then nor now did anyone make a problem about people who thought like that in certain institutions.

The subsequent career of these "radicals" does not in the least resemble the biography of latter-day martyrs as they themselves would like to be represented. As to their living, they are well-situated at universities where they have remained employed all the way up to the early eighties; they have had an opportunity to devote themselves to scholarship, whose continued publication has not been disputed for a moment.

One need go no further than the ordinary, empirical and confidential facts to see that we are dealing with a mystification plain and simple. When in the early eighties they moved over to the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade and joined together with their followers at certain other institutes as well, their activity was also stepped up all of a sudden. Aside from their journals, such as THEORIA, they are also to be found in certain other scholarly journals and reviews which welcome them with great affinity (FILOZOFSKA ISTRAZIVANJA, SOCIOLOGIJA, REVIJA ZA SOCIOLOGIJU, GLEDISTA, and the like). It seems, however, that the quantitative aspect is not so essential in this case as the qualitative one, which covers that aspect of the activity of the "radicals" which we call content. That aspect is in and of itself sufficient to discredit even the most pretentious rumors about their intellectual and political interdiction. In the pages of their own journals and at scholarly

meetings (like this one in Komiza) these "threatened intellectuals" have quite lawfully been preaching a revival of the multiparty system, doing away with the LCY as a "party of usurpers" or thrusting it to the margins of historical development, the imminent commencement of a "second" or "third" revolution (they themselves are not sure which), the birth of a "mass social movement," the "anarchistic organization of society ... from top to bottom [original reads "top"] ... from the bottom up," the philosophical and socio-logical articulation of the case of Gojko Djogo as an occasion for demystification of the "Tito personality cult," and a number of other undertakings whose advocacy would seem unimaginable for publication in any neo-Stalinist system such as our society is accused of.

Although the circumstances in which they operate and the legality of their activity have deprived them of the moral alibi for speaking about the threat to intellectual creativity in our country, the "radicals" have nevertheless not refrained from repeating the same thing in maximum terms in every one of the petitions to date: how the courts have no right to intervene in the cases where charges have been filed since they involve the "crime of thought." If we leave to one side the pathos of these petitions and the intellectualist rhetoric of their signatories, a question remains to which they always make a negative response: Does a revolution have the right to defend itself against assaults on its legitimacy and against an aspiration to total destruction of the status quo on behalf of a bourgeois restoration or anarchistic nihilism, which the "radicals" themselves have taken under their eminent intellectual and ethical-political protection?

#### The Farce in Komiza

In our context their concept is belatedly liberalistic: to make it possible for every opinion, regardless of its specific content, to obtain legal expression, especially if it is an alternative to the system! At first it seems they are interested only in the act of thought. However, a whole series of their actions indicate that they are interested most of all in the political effects of that thought on behalf of the ultimate goal--advancement of what is referred to as a total alternative to socialist self-management.

"All is good which leads to shaking up the status quo"--that is an approximate summary of their endeavors. Which is why they are ready to support every disputatious act whatever it may be. That is the only way one can understand the farce in Komiza with its "Sarajevo petition"--(a paper in support of the recently convicted group of "young Muslims"). And it truly was a complete farce, beginning with the "radicals" themselves, most of whom made fun a decade ago about the "pubertal maturation of the Muslim nation" and denied it any sort of historical identity, to the principal protagonist of the farce, Vojislav Seselj, who just a year ago would wave his intellectual revolver if anyone even mentioned to him the name "Muslim," and who, with the abundant support of those same "radicals," proclaimed himself to be a victim of the Muslim nationalists and saw every Muslim to be an "ayatollah" and "Khomeinian," along with his well-known war cry published in DUGA addressed to his critics--"Let eternal darkness befall them" (which the writer Miroslav Jancic described in SVIJET of Sarajevo as a typical Ravna Gora cry from the other side of the revolutionary barricade in 1941).

We will leave it to the appropriate specialists to evaluate whether what we see in Seselj is a masochistic trance vis-a-vis his appointed torturer or a desire for morbid exhibition. Perhaps it is even a question of ordinary intellectual cunning whereby he desired to present himself in public in a different light from that of last year. But the farce with the "Sarajevo petition" was welcome to the "radicals," who, hitching to the cart of their manipulation an incoherent rebel who at the age of 30 went all around Komiza presenting himself as a certified dissident for whom Marxism was the "disillusionment of his youth," had yet another opportunity to denounce our order as Stalinist.

The cover which they sought in the abstract humanism of civil rights and freedoms thusly interpreted is only the other side of their political and human hypocrisy: even "young Muslims" are fine for their petty Machiavellianism if they can be made to serve a particular base and petty political purpose, while as for the authentic historical legitimacy of the Muslims they will continue those same intellectual jibes as soon as the present favorable situation for Muslim nationalists passes. The organizers of the meeting did, to be sure, distance themselves in the weekly DANAS from the writing of that petition, but (headed by Lina Veljak) they did not disavow it either in keeping with that folksaying in "Pop Cira i Pop Spira" [The Priests Cira and Spira] [a comic 19th-century novel])--"everything in the shade where it can't be recognized."

Yet some good did come from the petitions originating in Komiza. They called attention to the hypocrisy of our "radicals," who, when they can no longer speak about the threat to intellectuals in Yugoslavia on the basis of their own experience, have to resort to defending their declared ideological opponents. But political exhibitionism of this kind obviously has no future. In Komiza the "radicals" were disheartened by and large by the members of their intellectual family clan who are now on in years. The criticism which they experienced in Komiza with respect to certain of their fundamental theses demonstrated that the period of their cherished intellectual glamor and supposed vanguardism is now drawing irrevocably to a close.

But precisely because of their stubborn insistence on radicalizing the tradition even of this scholarly meeting, the organizers of future sessions will have to ask whether the title "Ante Fiamengo Days" is really appropriate to them? Here we have yet another case of hypocrisy, this time plain human failing, at least as far as these "radicals" are concerned. Now that they have already parted company with morality on the terrain of criticism of our political system, the ordinary human question arises of how they can act under the auspices of the name of Ante Fiamengo, whom, when he was alive, they obstructed at every step, whom they proclaimed to be a dogmatist, a positivist, a thinker who spoke for the regime, and indeed they even forbid their students to use his textbooks as required reading for examinations! It seems that the noble idea of commemorating one of the founders of our postwar sociology went through a hazardous ethical ordeal because of the presence of those who disputed him while he was alive. After all, Ante Fiamengo would turn over in his grave if he could hear the sorts of ideas that are being advanced in a scholarly meeting bearing his name, with all due respect for those who did resist those ideas.

YUGOSLAVIA

CHANGES IN STATE SECURITY LAW TO STRENGTHEN FEDERAL SECRETARIAT

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 83 p 3

[Excerpt] The counter-revolutionary events in Kosovo showed that the Law on the Foundations of the System of State Security is not precise. Most of the criticism [of the law] relates to the question of whether the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SUP] has the right to give orders to the [SUP] service of a province, to send its people [there] without permission of the provincial services. The law has been differently interpreted because of its imprecision, and quite a bit of time has been lost in this. Hence, it has been suggested that when the SFRY Presidency asserts that special reasons exist for this [intervention] in the whole territory or part of the territory, SUP is to organize itself, as needed, to prevent the undermining and destruction of the Yugoslav constitutional system.

This would be the most important of the changes contained in the draft law on changes and additions to the [above] Law which were unanimously supported on 21 September by delegates of the council for internal policy in the Federal Chamber (chaired by Drasko Juricic).

The draft law further envisions that the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs carry out an inspection of how federal regulations linked to state security are being implemented. The Federal Secretary would give instructions and guidelines for this work to the authorized republic and provincial organs of administration.

Since the existing law does not specify in more detail how the work of the administrative organs carrying out [the tasks of] state security is coordinated and who does this, the draft law calls for this function being done by the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs.

At the 21 September meeting it was also suggested that an addition to the Law specify that the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs direct and coordinate the republic and provincial organs of state security. This question will be decided by the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidium, and the Federal Executive Council.

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